without the campe carying his reproch, and our Lord *Iesus Christ* himselfe, and God and our Father which hath loued vs, and hath giuen eternall consolation, and good hope in grace, exhort your hearts, and confirme you in euery good worke and word.

Georgius Blakwellus Archipr. Angliæ, & Protonotarius Apostolicus.

From the Clincke, Ianuary 20. 1607.

Endorsed.

To my Reuerend assistants, with the rest of my deare Brethren both of the Clergie, and Laitie.

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From the Clincke, Ianuary 20. 1607.

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To my Reuerend assistants, with the rest of my deare Brethren both of the Clergie, and Laitie.

Triplici nodo, triplex cuneus.

OR

AN APOLOGIE FOR THE OATH

of Allegiance,

Against the two Breues *of Pope* PAVLVS QVINTVS, and the late Letter of Cardinal BELLARMINE to G. BLACKVVEL the Arch-priest.

Tunc omnes populi clamauerunt & dixerunt, Magna est Veritas, & prævalet. ESDR. 3.

¶ *Authoritate Regiâ.*

¶ Imprinted at London by *Robert Barker*, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie.

ANNO 1607.

861. f. 22
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AN APOLOGIE FOR THE OATH of Allegiance.

WHat a monstrous, rare, nay neuer heard of treacherous attempt, was plotted within these few yeeres here in England, for the destruction of his Maiestie, the Queene, their Posteritie, the whole house of Parliament, and a great number of good Subiects of all sorts, and degrees, is so famous already through the whole World by the infamy thereof, as it is needlesse to be repeated or published any more, the horror of the sinne it selfe doth so lowdly proclaime it. For if those [a] crying sinnes, (whereof men-

[a] Gen. 4 10.

tion is made in the Scripture) haue that Epithet giuen them for their publique infamie, and for procuring as it were with a lowd cry from Heauen, a iuſt vengeance, and recompence; and yet thoſe ſinnes are both old and too common, neither the world nor any one Countrey being euer at any time cleane voyd of them: If thoſe Sinnes, I ſay, are ſaid in the Scripture to cry ſo lowd; What muſt then this Sinne doe, plotted without cauſe, infinite in crueltie, and ſingular from all examples? What proceeded hereupon, is likewiſe notorious to the whole world, His Maieſties Iuſtice onely taking holde vpon the Offenders, and that in as Honourable and publique a forme of triall, as euer was vſed in this Kingdome.

2. For although the onely reaſon they gaue for plotting ſo heinous an attempt, was the zeale they caried to the Romiſh Religion; yet were neuer any other of that profeſsion the worſe vſed for that cauſe, as by his Maieſties gratious Proclamation immediatly after the diſcouery of the ſaid Fact doeth plainely appeare; Onely at the next

ſitting downe againe of the Parliament, were there Lawes made, ſetting downe ſome ſuch orders as was thought fit for preuenting the like miſchiefe in time to come. Amongſt which, a forme of Oath was framed to be taken by all his Maieſties Subiects, whereby they ſhould make cleare profeſsion of their Reſolution, faithfully to perſiſt in his Maieſties obedience according to their naturall Allegiance; To the end that hereby his Maieſtie might make a ſeparation, not onely betweene all his good Subiects in generall, and vnfaithfull Traitors, that intended to withdraw themſelues from his Maieſties Obedience; But ſpecially to make a ſeparation betweene ſo many of his Maieſties Subiects, who although they were otherwiſe Popiſhly affected, yet retained in their hearts the print of their naturall duetie to their Soueraigne, and thoſe who being caried away with the like Fanaticall zeale that the Powder Traitors were, could not conteine themſelues within the bounds of their naturall Allegiance, but thought diuerſitie of Religion a ſafe pretext for all kinde of Treaſons, and re-

bellions against their Soueraigne. Which godly and wise intent God did blesse with successe accordingly: For very many of his Maiesties Subiects that were Popishly affected, aswell Priests, as Layicks, did freely take the same Oath: whereby they both gaue his Maiestie occasion to thinke the better of their fidelitie, and likewise freed themselues of that heauy slander, That although they were fellow professors of one Religion with the powder Traitors, yet were they not ioyned with them in Treasonable courses against their Soueraigne; whereby all quietly minded Papists were put out of despaire, and his Maiestie gaue good proofe that he intended no persecution against them for conscience cause, but onely desired to be secured of them for Ciuill obedience, which for Conscience cause they were bound to performe.

3. But the deuil could not haue deuised a more malitious tricke for interrupting this so calme and clement a course, then fell out by the sending hither, and publishing a *Breue* of the Popes, countermaunding all them of his profession to take this Oath;

There-

Thereby ſowing new ſeedes of iealouſie betweene his Maieſtie and his Popiſh Subiects, by ſtirring them vp to diſobey that lawfull commandement of their Soueraigne, which was ordeined to be taken of them as a pledge of their fidelitie; And ſo by their refuſall of ſo iuſt a charge, to giue his Maieſtie ſo great and iuſt a ground for puniſhment of them, without touching any matter of Conſcience, throwing them needleſly into one of theſe deſperate ſtraights, Either with the loſſe of their liues and goods; to renounce their Allegiance to their natural Soueraigne; Or elſe to procure the condemnation of their ſoules, by renouncing the Catholicke faith, as he alleadgeth.

4. And on the other part, although diſpatitie of Religion can permit no intelligence, nor intercourſe of Meſſengers betweene his Maieſtie and the Pope; yet there being no denounced warre betweene them, he hath by this Action broken the rules of common ciuilitie, and Iuſtice betweene Chriſtian Princes, in thus condemning him vnheard, both by accounting him a Perſecutor,

which cannot be but implyed by exhorting the Papists to endure Martyrdome; As likewise by so straightly commanding all those of his profession in England, to refuse the taking of this Oath, Thereby refusing to professe their naturall obedience to their Soueraigne. For if he thinke himselfe his Maiesties Iudge, wherefore hath he condemned him vnheard? And, if he haue nothing to doe with the King and his gouernment, (as indeed he hath not) why doeth he *mittere falcem in alienam messem?* to meddle betweene his Maiestie and his Subiects, especially in matters that meerely and onely concerne Ciuil obedience? And yet could *Pius Quintus* in his greatest furie, and auowed quarrel against the late Queene, doe no more iniury vnto her, then he hath in this case offered vnto his Maiestie, without so much as a pretended or an alleadged cause. For what difference there is, betweene the commanding Subiects to rebell, and loosing them from their oath of Allegiance as *Pius Quintus* did, and the commanding of Subiects not to obey in making profession of their Oath of their duetifull

Allegiance, as this Pope hath now done; No man can easily discerne.

5. But to draw neere vnto his *Breue*. Wherein certainly he hath taken more pains then he needed, by setting downe in the said *Breue* the whole body of the Oath at length, whereas the onely naming of the Title thereof might as well haue serued for any answere he hath made thereunto, making *Vna litura*, that is, the flat and generall condemnation of the whole Oath, to serue for all his refutation. Wherein he hath as well in this respect as in the former, dealt both vndiscreetly with his Maiestie, and iniuriously with his owne Catholicks. With his Maiestie, in not refuting particularly what special words he quarrelled in that Oath; which if he had done, it might haue bene that his Maiestie for the fatherly care he hath, not to put any of his Subiects to a needlesse extremitie, might haue bene contented in some sort to haue reformed or interpreted those wordes: With his owne Catholikes, Either if his Maiestie had so done, they had bene thereby fully eased in that businesse; Or at least, if his Maiestie would

would not haue condeſcended to haue altered any thing in the ſaid Oath, yet would thereby ſome appearance or ſhadow of excuſe haue bene left vnto them for refuſing the ſame, not as ſeeming thereby to ſwarue from their Obedience and Allegiance vnto his Maieſtie, but onely being ſtayed from taking the ſame vpon the ſcrupulous tenderneſſe of their Conſciences, in regard of thoſe particular words which the Pope had noted and condemned therein.

And now let vs heare the wordes of his Thunder.

POPE

POPE PAVLVS the fifth, to the Englisſh Catholikes.

The Pope his firſt *Breue.*

WElbeloued ſonnes, Salutation and *Apoſtolicall Benediction. The tribulations and calamities, which ye haue continually ſuſteined for the keeping of the Catholike Faith, haue alwayes afflicted vs with great griefe of minde: But for as much as we vnderſtand, that at this time all things are more grieuous, our affliction hereby is wonderfully increaſed. For we haue heard how you are compelled by moſt grieuous puniſhments ſet before you, to goe to the Churches of Heretikes, to frequent their Aſſemblies, to be preſent at their Sermons. Truely wee doe vndoubtedly beleeue, that they which with ſo great conſtancie and fortitude, haue hitherto indured almoſt infinite and moſt cruel perſecutions, that they may walke without ſpot in the Law of the Lord, will neuer ſuffer themſelues to bee defiled with the communion of thoſe that haue forſaken the diuine Law. Yet notwithſtanding, being compelled*

by the zeale of our Pastorall Office, and by our Fatherly care which we doe continually take for the saluation of your soules, we are inforced to admonish, and desire you, that by no meanes you come vnto the Churches of the Heretikes, or heare their Sermons, or communicate with them in their Rites, lest you incurre the wrath of God. For these things may yee not doe without indamaging the worship of God, and your owne saluation. As likewise you cannot without most euident and grieuous wronging of Gods Honour, binde your selues by the Oath, which in like maner we haue heard with very great griefe of our heart is administred vnto you, of the tenor vnder written. viz.

The Oath.

I A. B. doe truely and sincerely acknowledge, professe, testifie, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, That our Soueraigne Lord King IAMES, is lawfull King of this Realme, and of all other his Maiesties Dominions and Countreys; And that the Pope neither of himselfe, nor by any authoritie of the Church or Sea of *Rome*, or by any other meanes with any other, hath any power or authoritie to depose the

the King, or to dispose any of his Maiesties Kingdomes, or Dominions, or to authorize any forraigne Prince, to inuade or annoy him, or his Countreys, or to discharge any of his Subiects of their Allegiance, and obedience to his Maiestie, or to giue Licence or leaue to any of them to beare Armes, raise tumults, or to offer any violence, or hurt to his Maiesties Royall person, State or Gouernement, or to any of his Maiesties Subiects within his Maiesties Dominions. Also I doe sweare from my heart, that notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of Excommunication, or depriuation made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the Pope or his successors, or by any Authoritie deriued, or pretended to be deriued from him, or his Sea, against the said King, his Heires, or Successors, or any Absolution of the said subiects from their Obedience, I wil beare faith and true Allegiance to his Maiestie, his Heires and Successors, and him and them will defend to the vttermost of my power, against all Conspiracies and Attempts whatsoeuer, which shalbe made against his or their Per-

ſons, their Crowne and dignitie, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch Sentence, or declaration, or otherwiſe, and will doe my beſt endeuour to diſcloſe and make knowen vnto his Maieſtie, his Heires and Succeſſors, all Treaſons and traiterous Conſpiracies, which I ſhall know or heare of, to be againſt him or any of them. And I doe further ſweare, That I doe from my heart abhorre, deteſt and abiure, as impious and Hereticall, this damnable doctrine and Poſition, That Princes which be Excommunicated or depriued by the Pope, may be depoſed, or murthered by their Subiects, or any other whatſoeuer. And I doe beleeue, and in conſcience am reſolued, that neither the Pope, nor any perſon whatſoeuer, hath power to abſolue me of this Oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full Authoritie to be lawfully miniſtred vnto me, and doe renounce all pardons and diſpenſations to the contrary. And all theſe things I doe plainely and ſincerely acknowledge and ſweare, according to theſe expreſſe wordes by me ſpoken, and according to the plaine and com-

mon

mon sense and vnderstanding of the same words, without any Æquiuocation, or mentall euasion, or secret reseruation whatsoeuer. And I doe make this Recognition and acknowledgement heartily, willingly and truely, vpon the true Faith of a Christian. So helpe me GOD.

Which things since they are thus; it must euidently appeare vnto you by the words themselues, That such an Oath cannot be taken without hurting of the Catholique Faith, and the Saluation of your Soules, seeing it conteines many things, which are flat contrary to Faith and Saluation. Wherefore wee doe admonish you, that you doe vtterly abstaine from taking this and the like Oathes: which thing we doe the more earnestly require of you, because we haue experience of the Constancie of your Faith, which is tried like Gold in the fire of perpetuall Tribulation. We doe well knowe, that you will cheerefully vnder-goe all kinde of cruell Torments whatsoeuer, yea, and constantly endure death it selfe, rather then you wil any thing offend the Maiestie of God. *And this our Confidence is confirmed by those things, which are dayly reported vnto vs, of the singu-*

lar vertue, valour and fortitude, which in these last times, doeth no lesse shine in your Martyrs, then it did in the first beginnings of the Church. Stand therefore, your Loynes being girt about with Veritie, and hauing on the Brest-plate of Righteousnesse, taking the Shielde of Faith, be ye strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might; And let nothing hinder you. He which will crowne you, and doeth in Heauen beholde your Conflicts, will finish the good worke, which he hath begun in you. You knowe how he hath promised his Disciples, that hee will neuer leaue them Orphanes: for hee is faithfull which hath promised. Hold fast therefore his correction, that is, being rooted and grounded in Charitie, Whatsoeuer ye doe, whatsoeuer ye indeuour, doe it with one accord, in simplicity of Heart, in meekenesse of Spirit, without murmuring or doubting. For by this doe all men knowe, that we are the Disciples of Christ, if we haue Loue one to another. Which Charitie, as it is very greatly to be desired of all faithfull Christians: So certainely is it altogether necessarie for you, most blessed Sonnes. For by this your Charitie, the Power of the Deuill is weakened, who doeth

so

so much assaile you, since that Power of his is especially vpheld by the Contentions, and Disagreement of our Sonnes. We exhort you therefore by the Bowels of our Lord Iesus Christ, by whose Loue we are taken out of the Iawes of eternall Death; That aboue all things, you would haue mutuall Charitie among you. Surely Pope Clement the eight of happy memorie, hath giuen you most profitable Precepts of practising brotherly Charitie one to another, in his Letters, in forme of a Breue, to our welbeloued Sonne M. George Arch priest of the Kingdome of England, dated the 5. day of the moneth of October, 1602. Put them therefore diligently in practise, and bee not hindered by any difficultie or doubtfulnesse. We require you, that ye doe exactly obserue the words of those Letters, and that yee take and vnderstand them simply as they sound, and as they lie, all Power to interpret them otherwise, being taken away. In the meane while, we will neuer cease to pray to the Father of Mercies, that hee would with pitie beholde your afflictions, and your paines, And that hee would keepe and defend you with his continuall Protection: whome wee doe gently greete with

our

our Apoſtolicall Benediction. Dated at Rome *at* S. Marke, *vnder the Signet of the Fiſherman, the tenth of the Calends of October,* 1606. *the ſecond yeere of our* Pope-dome.

THE ANSWERE TO the firſt *Breue.*

FIrſt the Pope expreſſeth herein his Sorrow for that Perſecution, which the Catholiques ſuſtaine for the faiths ſake. Wherein, beſides the maine vntrueth, whereby the King our Maſter is ſo iniuriouſly vſed, I muſt euer auowe and maintaine, as the trueth is, according to mine owne knowledge, that Her Maieſtie neuer puniſhed any Papiſt for Religion, but that their owne puniſhment was euer extorted out of her hands againſt her will, by their owne misbehauiour, which both the time and circumſtances of her

Actions

Actions will manifestly make proofe of. For before *Pius Quintus* his Excommunication giuing her ouer for a Pray, and setting her Subiects at libertie to rebell, It is wel knowen shee neuer medled with the blood or hard punishment of any Catholique, nor made any rigorous Lawes against them. And since that Time, who list to compare with an indifferent eye, the manifold intended Inuasions against her whole Kingdome, The forraine Practises, The internall publike Rebellions, The priuate Plots and Machinations, poysonings, murthers, and all sorts of deuises, *Et quid non?* dayly set abroach; and all these Wares continually fostered and fomented from *Rome*; Together with the continuall corrupting of her Subiects, as well by temporall Bribes, as by faire and specious promises of eternall felicitie; And nothing but booke vpon booke publikely set foorth by all her Fugitiues, for approbation of so Holy designes: Who list, I say, with an indifferent eye, to looke on the one part, vpon those infinite and intollerable Temptations, And on the other part vp-

on the iuſt, yet moderate puniſhment of a part of theſe hainous Offenders; ſhall eaſily ſee that gracious Prince as free from perſecution, as they ſhall free theſe helliſh Inſtruments from the Honor of Martyrdome.

5. But now hauing ſacrificed (if I may ſo ſay) to the *Manes* of my defunct Soueraigne, as well for the diſcharge of my particular duetie, as for loue of Veritie; I muſt next performe my duetie to his Maieſtie preſent, in teſtifying likewiſe the truth of his Actions in this matter. Wherein I muſt for the loue of Veritie confeſſe, That whatſoeuer was her iuſt and mercifull Gouernement ouer the Papiſts in her Time, his Maieſties Gouernement ouer them ſince hath ſo farre exceeded hers, in Mercie and Clemencie, as not onely the Papiſts themſelues grewe to that height of Pride, in confidence of his mildeneſſe, as they did directly expect, and aſſuredly promiſe to themſelues libertie of Conſcience & Equalitie with vs in all things; But euen we, I muſt truely confeſſe, his Maieſties beſt and faithfulleſt Subiects, were caſt in great feare and amazement of his Maieſties

ities Course and proceedings, Euer prognosticating and iustly suspecting that sowre fruite to come of it, which shewed it selfe clearely in the powder-Treason. How many did his Maiestie honour with Knighthood, of knowen and open Recusants? How indifferently did his Maiestie giue audience, and accesse to both sides, bestowing equally all Fauours and Honors on both Professions? How free and continuall accesse, had all Rankes and Degrees of Papists in his Court and Companie? And aboue all, how frankely and freely did his Maiestie free Recusants of their ordinarie payments? Besides, it is euident what straite order was giuen out of his Maiesties owne mouth to his Iudges, to spare the Execution of all Priests, (notwithstanding their Conuiction,) ioyning thereunto a Gracious Proclamation, whereby all Priests, that were at libertie, and not taken, might goe out of the Countrey by such a day: his Maiesties Generall Pardon hauing bene extended to all conuicted Priests in prison, whereupon they were set at libertie as good Subiects, And all Priestes

His Maiesties Benefits and Fauours bestowed vpon the Catholiques.

that were taken after, ſent ouer and ſet at Libertie there. But time and paper wil faile me to make enumeration of all the Benefits and Gracious fauours that his Maieſtie hath beſtowed in generall and particular vpon Papiſts: In recounting wherof, euery ſcrape of my penne would ſerue but for a blot of the Popes ingratitude and Iniuſtice, in meating him with ſo hard a meaſure for the ſame. So as I thinke I haue ſufficiently, or at leaſt with good reaſon wiped the [a] Teares from the Popes eyes, for complaining vpon ſuch perſecution, who if he had bin but politikely wiſe, although hee had had no reſpect to Iuſtice and Veritie, would haue in this Complaint of his, made a difference betweene the times of the late Queene, and his Maieſtie nowe preſent; And in his commending of our Soueraignes Moderation, in regard of former times, might haue had hope to haue moued his Maieſtie to haue continued in the ſame clement courſe. For it is a true ſaying, That alledged kindneſſe vpon noble mindes doeth euer worke much. And for the maine vntrueth of his Maieſties perſecution, it can

[a] *Magno cum animi mœrore. &c.*

neuer

neuer be proued, that any were, or are put to death in his Maiesties time for cause of Conscience, except that now this discharge giuen by the Pope to all Catholiques to take their Oath of Allegiance to his Maiestie be the cause of the due punishment of many: which if it fall out to be, let the blood light vpon the Popes head, who is the onely cause thereof.

As for the next poynt conteined in his *Breue*, concerning his discharge of all Papists to come to our Church, or frequent our Rites and Ceremonies, I am not to meddle at this time with that matter, because my Errand now onely is to publish to the World the Iniurie and Iniustice done vnto his Maiestie in discharging his owne Subiects to make profession of their Obedience to him. Now as to the poynt wherein the Oath is quarrelled, it is set downe in fewe, but very weightie words; To wit, that it ought to be cleare vnto all Catholiques, *That this Oath cannot be taken with safetie of the Catholike Faith, and of their Soules health, since it conteineth many things that are plainely and directly contrary to*

The intendement of this Discourse.

their faith & ſaluation. To this, the old ſaying tathered vpon the Philoſopher may very fitly be applied, *Multa dicit, ſed panca probat*: Nay indeed, *Nihil omnino probat.* For how the profeſsion of the naturall Allegiance of Subiects to their Prince, can be directly oppoſite to the faith and ſaluation of ſoules, is ſo farre beyond my ſimple reading in Diuinitie, as I muſt thinke it a ſtrange and new Aſſertion, to proceede out of the mouth of that pretended generall Paſtor of all Chriſtian ſoules. I reade in deede, and not in one, or two, or three places of Scripture, that Subiects are bound to obey their Princes for conſcience ſake, whether they were good or wicked Princes. So ſaid the people to [a] *Ioſhua, As we obeyed* Moyſes *in all things, ſo wil we obey thee.* So the [b] Prophet commanded the people to obey the King of Babel, ſaying, *Put your neckes vnder the yoke of the King of Babel, and ſerue him and his people, that yee may liue.* So were the children of Iſrael vnto [c] *Pharaoh*, deſiring him to let them goe. So to [d] *Cyrus*, obtaining leaue of him to returne to build the Temple. And

a Ioſh.1.17.

b Iere.27.12.

c Exod.5,1.

d Ezra.1.3.

in

in a word, the [e] Apostle willed all men *to be subiect for Conscience sake.* Agreeably to the Scriptures did the Fathers teach. [f] *Augustine* speaking of *Iulian*, saith, *Iulian was an vnbeleeuing Emperour, was hee not an Apostata, an Oppressour, and an Idolater? Christian Souldiers serued that vnbeleeuing Emperour: when they came to the cause of* CHRIST, *they would acknowledge no Lord, but him that is in Heauen. When he would haue them to worship Idoles and to sacrifice, they preferred* GOD *before him: But when he said, Goe foorth to fight, Inuade such a nation, they presently obeyed. They distinguished their Eternal Lord from their temporall, and yet were they subiect euen vnto their temporall lord for his sake that was their eternall Lord and Master.* [g] *Tertullian* saith, *A Christian is enemy to no man, much lesse to the Prince, whom he knoweth to be appointed of God, & so of necessity must loue, reuerence & honour him, and wish him safe with the whole Romane Empire, so long as the world shall last: for so long shall it endure. Wee honour therefore the Emperour in such sort, as is lawfull for vs, and expedient for him, as a man, the next vnto God, and obtaining*

e Rom. 13. 5.

f *August. in Psal. 124.*

g *Tertul. ad Scap.*

taining from God whatsoeuer he hath, and onely inferiour vnto God. This the Emperour himselfe would: for so is he greater then all, while he is inferiour onely to the true God. [h] Iustine Martyr; We onely adore God, and in all other things cheerefully performe seruice to you, professing that you are Emperours and Princes of men. [i] Ambrose; I may lament, weepe, and sigh: My teares are my weapons against their Armes, Souldiers, and the Gothes also, such are the weapons of a Priest: Otherwise neither ought I, neither can I resist. [k] Optatus; Ouer the Emperour, there is none but only God, that made the Emperour. And [l] Gregory writing to Mauritius about a certaine Law, that a Souldier should not be receiued into a Monasterie, *Nondum expleta militia*; The Almightie God, saith he, holdes him guiltie, that is not vpright to the most excellent Emperours in all things that hee doeth or speaketh. And then calling himselfe the vnworthy seruant of his Godlines, goeth on in the whole Epistle to shewe the Iniustice of that Lawe, as he pretendeth: And in the end concludes his Epistle with these wordes; I being subiect to

your

h Iust. Martyr Apol. 2. ad Ant. Imperat.

i Amb. in orat. con. Auxentium de basilicis traden. habetur. lib. 5. Epist. Amb.

k Optat. contra Parme. lib. 3.

l Greg. Mag. Epist. lib. 2. indict. 11. Epist. 61.

your command haue cauſed the ſame lawe to bee ſent through diuers parts of your Dominions: and becauſe the lawe it ſelfe doeth not agree to the Law of the Almightie God, I haue ſignified the ſame by my Letters to your moſt excellent Lordſhip: ſo that on both parts I haue payed what I ought, becauſe I haue yeelded Obedience to the Emperour, and haue not holden my peace, in what I thought for God. Now how great a contrarietie there is betwixt this ancient Popes action in obeying an Emperour by the publication of his Decree, which in his owne Conſcience he thought vnlawfull, and this preſent Popes prohibition to a Kings Subiects from Obedience vnto him in things moſt lawfull and meere Temporall; I remit it to the Readers indifferency. And anſwerably to the Fathers ſpake the Councels in their decrees. As the Councell of [m] *Arles*, ſubmitting the whole Councell to the Emperour in theſe words: *Theſe things wee haue decreed to bee preſented to the Emperour, beſeeching his Clemencie, that if we haue done leſſe then we ought, it may be ſupplied by his Wiſedome: if any thing otherwiſe then reaſon require, it may bee corre-*

m *Concil. Arelatenſe ſub Carolo Can. 26.*

ſted by his iudgement: if any thing bee well ſet downe of vs, it may be perfected by his aide and aſsiſtance.

But why ſhould I ſpeake of *Charles* the Great, To whom not one Councell, but ſixe ſeuerall Councels, *Franckford, Arles, Towers, Shallons, Mentz,* & *Rhemes* did wholy ſubmit themſelues? And not rather ſpeake of all the generall Councels, that of *Nice, Conſtantinople, Epheſus, Calcedon,* and the foure other commonly ſo reputed, which did ſubmit themſelues to the Emperors wiſdome, and Piety in all things? Inſomuch as that of *Epheſus* repeated it foure ſeuerall times, *That they were ſummoned by the Emperours Oracle, becke, charge and command, and betooke themſelues to his godlineſſe,* [a] *beſeeching him, that the decrees made againſt* Neſtorius *and his followers, might by his power haue their full force and validitie,* as appeareth manifeſtly in the Epiſtle of the generall Councell of *Epheſus* written *ad Auguſtos.* I alſo reade that Chriſt ſaid, *his* [a] *kingdom was not of this world,* bidding, *Giue to* [b] Cæſar *what was* Cæſars, *and to God what was Gods.* And I euer held

a *Vide epiſtolam generalis Con: ad Auguſt.*

a Iohn 18.36

b Mat. 22. 21

it

it for an infallible Maxime in Diuinity, That temporall Obedience to a Temporall Magiſtrate did nothing repugne to matters of Faith or ſaluation of ſoules. But that euer temporall Obedience was againſt Faith and ſaluation of ſoules, as in this *Breue* is alleaged, was neuer before heard nor read of in the Chriſtian Church; and therefore I would haue wiſhed the Pope, before hee had ſet downe this Commaundement to all Papiſts here, That ſince in him is the Power, by the infallibility of his ſpirit, to make new Articles of Faith when euer it ſhall pleaſe him; That he had firſt ſet it down for an article of faith, before he had commanded all Catholikes to beleeue and obey it. I will then conclude the Anſwere to this point in a *Dilemma*.

Either it is lawfull to obey the Soueraigne in Temporall things, or not. Queſtion.

If it be lawfull, (as I neuer heard nor read it doubted of) Then why is he ſo vniuſt, and ſo cruell towards his owne Catholikes, as to Commaund them to diſobey their Soueraignes lawfull Commandement? 1.

If it be vnlawfull, Why hath he neither 2.

expreſſed any one Cauſe or reaſon thereof, nor yet will giue them leaue, (nay rather he ſhould command and perſwade them in plaine termes) not to liue vnder a King whom vnto they ought no Obedience?

Anſwere to the Popes exhortation.

And as for the vehement Exhortation vnto them to perſeuere in conſtancie, and to ſuffer Martyrdome, and all tribulation for this cauſe; It requireth no other anſwere then onely this, That if the ground be good whereupon hee hath commanded them to ſtand, then exhortation to Conſtancie is neceſſary: But if the ground bee vniuſt, and naught, (as indeed it is, and I haue in part already proued) then this Exhortation of his can worke no other effect, then to make him guilty of the blood of ſo many of his ſheepe, whom he doeth thus wilfully caſt away, not onely to the needleſſe loſſe of their liues, and ruine of their families, but euen to the laying on of a perpetuall ſlaunder vpon all Papiſts; as if no zealous Papiſt could bee a true ſubiect to his Prince; and that the profeſsion of that Religion, and the Temporall obedience to the Ciuill Magiſtrate, were two

things

things incompatible, and repugnant in them ſelues. But euill Information, and vntrue Reports (which being caried ſo farre as betweene this and *Rome*, cannot but increaſe by the way) might haue abuſed the *Pope*, and made him diſpatch this *Breue* ſo raſhly. For that great Citie, Queene of the World, and as themſelues confeſſe, [a] myſtically *Babylon*, cannot but bee ſo full of all ſorts of Intelligencies. Beſides, all complayners (as the Catholikes here are) bee naturally giuen to exaggerate their owne grieſes, and multiply thereupon. So that it is no wonder, that euen a iuſt Iudge ſitting there, ſhould vpon wrong Information, giue an vnrighteous Sentence; As ſome of their owne partie do not ſticke to confeſſe, That *Pius Quintus* was too raſhly caried vpon wrong Information, to pronounce his thunder of Excommunication vpon our late gracious Soueraigne. And it may be, the like excuſe ſhall hereafter be made for the two *Breues*, which [a] *Clemens Octauus* ſent to *England* immediatly before her late Maieſties death, for debarring of his Maieſtie our now ſoueraigne of the Crown,

Fama creſcit eundo.

a Euſebius, Oecumenius and Leo hold, that by Babylon in 1. Pet. 5. 13. Rome is meant, as the Rhemiſts themſelues confeſſe.

a See the Relation of y whole proceedings againſt the Traitours, Garnet and his Confederates.

or any other, that either would profeſſe, or any wayes tollerate the profeſſors of our Religion; contrary to his manifold vowes and proteſtations, *ſimul & eodem tempore*, and as it were deliuered *vno & eodem ſpiritu*, to diuers of his Maieſties miniſters abroad, profeſsing ſuch kindneſſe, and ſhewing ſuch forwardneſſe to aduance him to this Crowne. Nay, the moſt part of Catholikes here, finding this *Breue* when it came to their hands, to be ſo farre againſt Diuinitie, Policy, or naturall ſenſe, were firmely perſwaded, that it was but a counterfeit Libel deuiſed in hatred of the *Pope*; Or at the fartheſt, a thing haſtily done vpon wrong Information, as was before ſaid. Of which opinion were not onely the ſimpler ſort of Papiſts, but euen ſome amongſt them of beſt account, both for learning and experience; wherof the Archprieſt himſelfe was one. But for ſoluing of this obiection, the *Pope* himſelfe hath taken new paines, by ſending forth a ſecond *Breue*, only for giuing faith and confirmation to the former: That whereas before, his ſinne might haue bene thought to haue proceeded from raſhneſſe

The Catholikes opinion of the Breue.

rashnesse and mis-information, he will now wilfully and willingly double the same: whereof the Copie followeth.

TO OVR BELOued sonnes the English Catholikes, *Paulus P. P. V^tus.*

The second Breue.

BEloued Sonnes, Salutation and Apostolicall Benediction. It is reported vnto vs, that there are found certayne men amongst you, who when as wee haue sufficiently declared by our Letters, dated the last yeere on the tenth of the Calends of October in the forme of a Breue, *that ye cannot with safe Conscience take the Oath, which was then required of you; And when as wee haue further straightly required you, that by no meanes yee should take it; yet there are some, I say, among you, which dare now affirme, That such Letters concer-*

concerning the forbidding of the Oath, were not written of our owne accord, or of our owne proper will, but rather for the respect and at the labour of other men. And for that cause, the same men doe goe about to perswade you, that our commands in the said Letters are not to bee regarded. Surely this newes did trouble vs; and that so much the more, because hauing had experience of your obedience (most dearely beloued sonnes) who to the end yee might obey this Holy Sea, haue godlily, and valiantly contemned your Riches, wealth, honour, libertie, yea and life it selfe; we should neuer haue suspected, that the trueth of our Apostolike letters could once be called into question among you, that by this pretence ye might exempt your selues from our commandements. But we doe herein perceiue the subtiltie and craft of the enemy of mans saluation; And we doe attribute this your backwardnesse rather to him, then to your owne will. And for this cause, we haue thought good to write the second time vnto you, and to signifie vnto you againe, that our Apostolike Letters dated the last yeere on the tenth of the Calends of October concerning the prohibition of the Oath, were written,

ten, not onely vpon our proper motion, and of our certaine knowledge, but also after long and weightie deliberation vsed concerning all those things, which are conteined in them; and for that cause that ye are bound fully to obserue them, reiecting all interpretation perswading to the contrary. And this is our meere, pure and perfect will, being alwayes careful of your Saluation, and alwayes minding those things, which are most profitable vnto you. And wee doe pray without ceasing, That he that hath appointed our lowlinesse to the keeping of the flocke of Christ, would inlighten our thoughts and our counsels: whom we doe also continually desire, that hee would increase in you, our beloued sonnes, Faith, Constancie, and mutuall Charitie, and Peace one to another. All whom, wee doe most louingly blesse with all charitable affection. Dated at Rome at Saint Marke vnder the Signet of the Fisherman, the x. of the Calends of September 1607. The third yeere of our Pope-dome.

E THE

THE ANSWERE TO the ſecond *Breue.*

NOw for this *Breue*, I may iuſtly reflect his owne phraſe vpon him, in tearming it to be *the craft of the Deuil.* For if the deuill had ſtudied a thouſand yeeres for to find out a miſchiefe for our Catholikes, here hee hath found it in this, That now when many Catholikes haue taken their Oath, and ſome Prieſts alſo; yea, the Arch-prieſt himſelfe, without compunction or ſticking, they ſhall not now onely bee bound to refuſe the profeſsion of their naturall Allegiance to their Soueraigne, which might yet haue bin ſome way coloured vpon diuers ſcruples conceiued vpon the words of the Oath; but they muſt now renounce and forſweare their profeſsion of obedience already ſworne, and ſo muſt, as it were at the third Inſtance, forſweare

A double Oath of euery Subiect.

ſweare their two former Oaths, firſt cloſely ſworne by their birth in their naturall Allegiance; and next, clearely confirmed by this Oath, which doeth nothing but expreſſe the ſame; So as no man can now hold the faith, or procure the Saluation of his ſoule in *England*, that muſt not abiure and renounce his borne and ſworne Allegiance to his naturall Soueraigne.

And yet it is not ſufficient to ratifie the laſt yeeres *Breue* by a new one come forth this yeere; But (that not onely euery yeere, but euery moneth may produce a new Monſter) The great and famous writer of the Controuerſies, The late Vn-Ieſuited Cardinall *Bellarmine* muſt adde his talent to this good worke, by blowing the Bellowes of Sedition, and ſharpening the Spurre to Rebellion, by ſending ſuch a Letter of his to the Arch-prieſt here, as it is a wonder how Paſſion, and an Ambitious deſire of mainteining that Monarchy, ſhould charme the wits of ſo famouſly learned a man.

The Copie whereof here followeth.

TO THE MOST Reuerend Master GEORGE BLACKVVEL Arch-priest of the English:

Robert of the holy Church of Rome Cardinall BELLARMIN, sendeth greeting.

MOst reuerend Sir, and Brother in Christ, It is almost fourtie yeeres since we did see one the other: But yet I haue neuer beene vnmindfull of our ancient acquaintance, neither haue I ceased, seeing I could doe you no other good, to commend your labouring most painefully in the Lordes vineyard, in my prayers to God. And I doubt not, but that I haue liued all this while in your memorie, and haue had some place in your prayers at the Lords Altar. So therefore euen vnto this time wee haue abidden, as S. Iohn speaketh, in the mutuall loue one of the other, not by worde or letter, but by labour and trueth. But a late message which

Was

was brought vnto vs within a few dayes, of your bonds and impriſonment, hath inforced mee to breake off this ſilence; which meſſage, although it ſeemed heauie in regard of the loſſe of your paſtorall function which you haue exerciſed in that Church, yet withall it ſeemed ioyous, becauſe you drew neere vnto the glory of Martyrdome, then the which thing there is no gift of God more happie; That you, who haue fed your Flocke ſo many yeeres with the worde and doctrine, ſhould now feed it more glorioufly by the example of your patience. But another heauy tidings did not a litle diſquiet and almoſt take away this ioy, which immediatly followed, of the aduerſaries aſſault, and peraduenture of the ſlip and fall of your Conſtancie, in refuſing an vnlawfull Oath. Neither truely (moſt deare brother) could that oath therefore be lawfull, becauſe it was offered in ſort tempered and modified: for you knowe that thoſe kinde of modifications are nothing els, but ſleights and ſubtilties of Satan, that the Catholique faith touching the Primacie of the Sea Apoſtolike, might either ſecretly or openly be ſhot at, for the which faith ſo many worthy Martyrs euen in that very England it ſelfe, haue reſi

sted vnto blood. For most certaine it is, that in whatsoeuer words the Oath is conceiued by the aduersaries of the faith in that Kingdome, it tends to this end, that the Authoritie of the head of the Church in England, *may bee transferred from the successour of* S. Peter, *to the Successour of* K. Henry *the eight. For that which is pretended of the danger of the Kings life, if the high Priest should haue the same power in* England, *which he hath in all other Christian Kingdomes, it is altogether idle, as all that haue any vnderstanding, may easily perceiue. For it was neuer heard of from the Churches infancie vntill this day, that euer any* Pope *did command, that any Prince, though an Heretike, though an Ethnike, though a Persecuter, should be murdered, or did approue of the fact, when it was done by any other. And why, I pray you, doeth onely the King of* England *feare that, which none of all other the Princes in Christendome either doeth feare, or euer did feare?*

But, as I sayd, these vaine pretexts are but the Trappes and Stratagemes of Sathan: Of which kind, I could produce not a few out of ancient Stories, if I went about to write a booke, and

not an Epistle. One only for example sake, I will call to your memory. S. Gregorius Nazianzenus in his first Oration against Iulian the Emperour, reporteth, That he, the more easily to beguile the simple Christians, did insert the Images of the false gods into the pictures of the Emperor, which the Romanes did vse to bow downe vnto with a ciuill kind of reuerence; so that no man could doe reuerence to the Emperours picture, but withall he must adore the Images of the false gods: Whereupon it came to passe, that many were deceiued. And if there were any that found out the Emperours craft, and refused to worship his picture, those were most grieuously punished, as men that had contemned the Emperour in his Image. Some such like thing, me thinkes, I see in the Oath that is offered to you, which is so craftily composed, that no man can detest Treason against the King, and make profession of his Ciuill subiection, but he must be constrayned perfidiously to denie the Primacie of the Apostolike Sea. But the seruants of Christ, and especially the chiefe Priests of the Lord ought to be so farre from taking an vnlawfull Oath, where they may indamage their Faith, that they ought to beware that

that they giue not the leaſt ſuſpition of Diſſimulation that they haue taken it. Which thing that worthy Eleazar *did moſt notably performe, who would neither eate Swines fleſh, nor ſo much as faine to haue eaten it, although hee ſaw the great torments that did hang ouer his head, leſt, as himſelfe ſpeaketh in the ſecond booke of the* Machabees, *many young men might be brought through that Simulation, to preuaricate with the Law. Neither did* Baſil *the great by his example, which is more fit for our purpoſe, carrie himſelfe leſſe worthily towards* Valens *the Emperour. For, as* Theodoret *writeth in his Hiſtorie, When the Deputy of that hereticall Emperour did perſwade Saint* Baſill, *that he would not reſiſt the Emperour for a little Subtiltie of a few poynts of Doctrine; that moſt holy and prudent man made anſwere,* That it was not to be endured, that the leaſt ſyllable of Gods word ſhould be corrupted, but rather all kinde of torment was to be embraced, for the maintenance of the Trueth thereof. *Now I ſuppoſe, that there wants not amongſt you, who ſay that they are but Subtilties of Opinions that are conteined in the Oath that is offered to the Catholikes, and that*

you

you are not to ſtriue againſt the Kings Authoritie for ſuch a litle matter. But there are not wanting alſo amongſt you Holy men like vnto Baſill the Great, which will openly auow, that the very leaſt ſyllable of Gods Diuine Trueth is not to be corrupted, though many Torments were to be indured, and Death it ſelfe ſet before you. Amongſt whom it is meete, that you ſhould bee one, or rather the Standerd-bearer, and Generall to the reſt. And whatſoeuer hath beene the cauſe, that your Conſtancie hath quayled, whether it be the ſuddenty of your apprehenſion, or the bitterneſſe of your perſecution, or the imbecillitie of your old age: yet we truſt in the goodneſſe of God, and in your owne long continued vertue, that it will come to paſſe, that as you ſeeme in ſome part to haue imitated the caſe of Peter and Marcellinus, ſo you ſhall happily imitate their valour in recouering your ſtrength, and maintaining the trueth. For if you wil diligently weigh the whole matter with your ſelfe, truely you ſhall ſee it is no ſmall matter that is called in queſtion by this Oath, but one of the principall heads of our faith and foundations of Catholique Religion. For heare what your Apoſtle S. Grego-

ry *the Great hath written, in his 42. Epistle of his 11. booke.* Let not the Reuerence due to the Apostolique Sea, bee troubled by any mans presumption: for then the state of the members doeth remaine entire, when the head of the faith is not bruised by any iniurie. *Therefore, by S.* Gregories *testimonie, when they are busie about disturbing or diminishing, or taking away of the Primacie of the Apostolique Sea, then are they busie about cutting off the very head of the faith, and dissoluing of the state of the whole body, and of all the members. Which selfe same thing S.* Leo *doeth confirme in his third Sermon of his Assumption to the* Pope-dome, *when he saith,* Our Lord had a speciall care of *Peter,* and prayed properly for *Peters* faith, as though the state of others were more stable, when their Princes minde was not to be ouercome. *Whereupon himselfe in his Epistle to the Bishop of* Vienna, *doth not doubt to affirme,* That he is not partaker of the Diuine Mysterie, that dare depart from the soliditie of *Peter: who also saith,* That hee who thinketh the Primacie to bee denied to that Sea, hee can in no sort lessen the

the Authoritie of it, but by being puſt vp with the ſpirit of pride, doeth caſt himſelfe headlong into hell. *Theſe and many other of this kinde, I am very ſure are moſt familiar to you: Who beſides many other bookes, haue diligently read ouer the viſible Monarchie of your owne* Saunders, *a moſt diligent writer, and one who hath worthily deſerued of the Church of England. Neither can you be ignorant, that moſt holy and learned men,* Iohn *Biſhop of* Rocheſter, *and* Thomas More *within our memorie, for this one moſt weightie head of doctrine, ledde the way to* Martyrdome *to many others, to the exceeding glory of the* Engliſh *Nation. But I would put you in remembrance that you ſhould take heart, and conſidering the weightineſſe of the cauſe, not to truſt too much to your owne iudgement, neither be wiſe aboue that is meete to bee wiſe: And if peraduenture your fall haue proceeded not vpon want of conſideration, but through humane infirmitie, and for feare of puniſhment, and impriſonment; yet doe not preferre a temporall libertie to the libertie of the glory of the Sonnes of God, neither for eſcaping a light and momentanie tribulation, looſe an eternall*

waight of glory, which tribulation it selfe doeth worke in you. You haue fought a good fight a long time, you haue well-neere finished your course: So many yeeres you haue kept the faith: doe not therefore loose the reward of such labours; doe not depriue your selfe of that Crowne of righteousnesse which so long agone is prepared for you. Doe not make the faces of so many yours both fathers and children ashamed. Vpon you at this time are fixed the eyes of all the Church: yea also, you are made a spectacle to the world, to Angels, to men: Doe not so carie your selfe in this your last acte, that you leaue nothing but laments to your friends, and ioy to your enemies, but rather the contrary: which wee assuredly hope, and for which we continually powre forth praiers to God. Display gloriously the banner of Faith, and make to reioyce the Church, which you haue made heauie. So shall you not onely merit pardon at Gods hands, but a Crowne. Farewell, quite you like a man, and let your heart be strengthened. From Rome the 28. day of September, 1607.

Your very Reuerend brother and seruant in Christ, *Robert* Cardinall *Bellarmine*.

THE

THE ANSWERE TO the Cardinals letter.

AND now that I am to enter into the fielde againſt him by refuting his Letter, I muſt firſt vſe this proteſtation; That no deſire of vaine glory by matching with ſo learned a man, maketh me to vndertake this taske, but onely the care and conſcience I haue, that ſuch ſmooth *Cyrces* Charmes, and guilded Pilles, as ful of exterior Eloquence, as of inward Vntruethes, may not haue that publique paſſage through the world without an Anſwere, whereby his Maieſties bright Reputation might vniuſtly be darkened by ſuch Cloudie and foggie miſtes of Vntrueth, and falſe imputations. The hearts of vnſtayed and ſimple men be miſ-led, and the Trueth it ſelfe ſmoothered.

A great miſtaking of the ſtate of the Queſtion and Caſe in hand.

But before I come to the particular Anſwere of this Letter, I muſt heere deſire the

world to wonder with me, at the committing of ſo groſſe an Errour by ſo learned a man, as that hee ſhould haue pained himſelfe to haue ſet downe ſo elaborate a Letter, for the refutation of a quite miſtaken Queſtion. For it appeareth, that our Engliſh Fugitiues, of whoſe inward ſocietie with him he ſo greatly vaunteth, haue ſo faſt hammered in his head the Oath of Supremacie, which hath euer bene ſo great a Scarre vnto them, as hee thinking by his Letter to haue refuted the laſt Oath, hath in place thereof onely payd the Oath of Supremacie, which was moſt in his head; As a man that being earneſtly caried in his thoughts vpon another matter then hee is preſently in doing, will often name the matter, or perſon hee is thinking of, in place of the other thing hee hath at that time in hand.

The difference betweene the Oath of Supremacie, and this of Allegiance.

For, as the Oath of Supremacy was deuiſed for putting a difference betweene Papiſts, and them of our profeſsion: So was this Oath, which hee would ſeeme to impugne, ordained for making a difference betweene the Ciuilly obedient Papiſts, and the

peruerſe

peruerſe Diſciples of the Powder-Treaſon. Yet doth all his Letter runne vpon an Inuectiue againſt the compulſion of Catholikes to denie the authoritie of Saint *Peters* ſucceſſors, and in place thereof to acknowledge the ſucceſſors of King *Henry* the eight. For, in King *Henry* the eights time was the Oath of Supremacie firſt made: By him were *Thomas Moore* and *Roffenſis* put to death, partly for refuſing of it. From his time till now haue all our Princes profeſsing this Religion, ſucceſsiuely in effect mainteined the ſame: And in that Oath only is conteined the Kings abſolute power to bee Iudge ouer all perſons aſwell Ciuill as Eccleſiaſticall, excluding all forreigne Powers and Potentates to be Iudges within his Dominions; Whereas this laſt made Oath containeth no ſuch matter, onely medling with the Ciuill Obedience of Subiects to their Soueraigne, in meere Temporall cauſes.

And that it may the better appeare, that whereas by name hee ſeemeth to condemne the laſt Oath; yet indeede his whole letter runneth vpon nothing, but vpon the condemna-

demnation of the Oath of Supremacie: I haue here thought good to set downe the said Oath, leauing it then to the discretion of euery indifferent reader, to iudge, whether he doeth not in substance onely answere to the Oath of Supremacie, but that he giueth the childe a wrong name.

I A.B. doe vtterly testifie and declare in my Conscience, that the Kings Highnesse is the onely Supreme Gouernour of this Realme, and all other his Highnesse Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spirituall or Ecclesiasticall things or causes, as Temporall; And that no forreine Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to haue any Iurisdiction, Power, Superioritie, Preheminence or authority Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall within this Realme: And therefore I doe vtterly renounce and forsake all forreine Iurisdictions, powers, superiorities and authorities, and doe promise that from hencefoorth I shall beare faith and true Allegiance to the Kings Highnesse, his Heires and lawfull Successours, and to my power shall assist and defend all Iurisdictions, priuiledges, preheminences and authorities granted or belonging to

the

the Kings Highneſſe, his Heires and Succeſſours, or vnited and annexed to the Imperiall Crowne of the Realme: So helpe me God, and by the Contents of this booke.

And that the Vniuſtice, as well as the Errour of his groſſe miſtaking in this point, may yet be more clearely diſcouered, I haue alſo thought good to inſert here immediatly after the Oath of Supremacy, the contrary Concluſions to all the poynts and Articles, whereof this other late Oath doeth conſiſt: Whereby it may appeare, what vnreaſonable and Rebellious poynts hee would driue his Maieſties Subiects vnto, by refuſing the whole body of that Oath, as it is conceiued. For hee that ſhall refuſe to take this Oath, muſt of neceſsitie holde theſe propoſitions following.

That our Soueraigne Lord King *Iames* is not the lawfull King of this Kingdome, and of all other his Maieſties Dominions. 1

That the Pope by his owne Authoritie may depoſe our King. If not by his owne authoritie, yet by ſome other authority of the Church or of the Sea of *Rome*. If not by 2

some other authority of the Church and Sea of *Rome*, yet by other meanes with others helpe he may depose our King.

3. That the Pope may dispose of his Maiesties Kingdomes and Dominions.

4. That the Pope may giue authoritie to some Forrein Prince to inuade his Maiesties Dominions.

5. That the Pope may discharge his Subiects of their Allegiance and Obedience to his Maiestie.

6. That the Pope may giue Licence to one or more of his Maiesties Subiects to beare Armes against his Maiestie.

7. That the Pope may giue leaue to the King his Subiects to offer violence to his Maiesties sacred person, or to his Gouernement, or to some of his Subiects.

8. That if the Pope shall by Sentence Excommunicate or depose our King, his Subiects are not to beare Faith and Allegiance to his Maiestie.

9. It the Pope shall by Sentence Excommunicate or depose his Maiesty, his Subiects are not bound to defend with all their power

his

his Maiesties Person and Crowne.

If the Pope shall giue out any Sentence of Excommunication, or Depriuation against the King, the Subiects by reason of that Sentence, are not bound to reueile all Conspiracies & Treasons against the King, which shal come to their hearing and knowledge. 10.

That it is not Hereticall and detestable to holde, that Princes being Excommunicated by the Pope, may be either deposed, or killed by their Subiects, or any other. 11.

That the Pope hath power to absolue his Maiesties Subiects from this oath, or from some part thereof. 12.

That this oath is not administred to his Maiesties Subiects, by a full and lawfull Authoritie. 13.

That this oath is to be taken with Equiuocation, mentall euasion, or secret reseruation, and not with the heart and good will, sincerely in the true faith of a Christian man. 14.

These are the true and naturall branches of the body of this Oath. The affirmatiue of all which Negatiues doe neither concerne

in any cafe the *Popes* Supremacie in ſpirituall cauſes, nor yet were euer concluded, and defined by any complete generall Councell to belong to the *Popes* Authoritie: and their owne ſchoole Doctours are at irreconcilable oddes and iarres about them.

Touching the pretended councell of Later: See Plat. *In vita innocen.* 3.

And that the world may yet farther ſee, his Maieſties and whole States ſetting downe of this oath, did not proceed from any new inuention of theirs, but as it is warranted by the word of God: ſo doth it take the example from an oath of Allegiance decreed a thouſand yeeres agone, which a famous Councel then, together with diuers other Councels, were ſo farre from condemning, (as the *Pope* now hath done this oath) as I haue thought good to ſet down their owne words here in that purpoſe, wherby it may appeare that his Maieſtie craueth nothing now of his Subiects in this Oath, which was not expreſly and carefully commanded then by the Councels to be obeyed without exception of perſons. Nay not in the very particular poynt of *Equiuocation*, which his Maieſtie in this oath is ſo carefull to haue eſchewed: but

The oath of Allegiance confirmed by the authoritie of Councels.

you

you ſhall here ſee the ſaid Councels in their decrees, as careful to prouide for the eſchewing of the ſame, ſo as almoſt euery poynt of that Action, and this of ours, ſhall be found to haue relation and agreeance one with the other, ſaue onely in this, that thoſe olde Councels were carefull and ſtrait in commaunding the taking of the ſame: whereas by the contrary, hee that now vaunteth himſelfe to be head of all Councels, is as carefull and ſtrait in the prohibition of all men from the taking of this Oath of Allegiance.

The ancient Councels prouided for Equiuocation.

The difference between the ancient Councels and the Popes counſelling of the Catholikes.

The wordes of the Councell bee theſe. *Heare our Sentence.*

Whoſoeuer of vs, or of all the people thorowout all Spaine, *ſhall violate the Oath of his fidelitie, which he hath giuen for the preſeruation of his Countrey, or of the Kings Perſon, or ſhall go about by any Conſpiracy or endeuour to touch the life of the King, or ſhall vſurpe by any power or Tyrannicall preſumption the Soueraigntie of the Kingdome, let him be accurſed in the ſight of God the Father, and of his Angels, and be holden an Alien from the Catholike Church, which he hath profaned by his periury; together with*

Concil. Toletan. 4. can. 74.

all the Confederates of his Impietie, becauſe it is meete, that they partake of the ſame puniſhment, that haue bene companions in the ſame offence. Which Canon is 3. ſeuerall times together repeated in the ſame Councel. And in the fifth[b] Councel, there it is decreed, That this Acte touching the Oath of Allegiance, ſhalbe repeated in euery Councel of *Spaine*. The Decree is in theſe wordes : *In conſideration of the frailty of mens memories, this whole Synode doeth enact, That in euery Councell of the Biſhops of* Spaine, *the Decree of the generall*[c] *Councell which was made for the ſafety of our Princes perſon, ſhall be pronounced with a loude voyce in the audience of all the Synode.*

b Concil. Toletan. 5. Can. 7. anno 636.

c Concil. Toletan. 4. vniuerſalis & magna Synodus dicta. Tol. 5. Can. 7.

And in the ſixt[d] Councel ; *We doe proteſt before God, and all the order of Angels, in the preſence of the Prophets and Apoſtles, and all the company of Martyrs, and before all the Catholike Church, and aſſemblies of the Chriſtians, That no man ſhall goe about to ſeeke the deſtruction of the King, No man ſhall touch the life of the Prince, No man ſhall depriue him of the Soueraigntie of the Kingdome, No man by any Tyrannical preſumption ſhal vſurpe to himſelfe*

d Concil. Tolet. 6. Can. 18. anno 676.

any

any point of his Dominion, No man by any Machination ſhall aſſociate or helpe the hand of any Conſpirators againſt him; And that if any of vs ſhalbe preſumptuous by raſhneſſe in any of theſe Caſes, let him be accurſed.

And in the tenth [a] Councell (to omit diuers others held alſo at *Toledo*) here it is ſaid; *That if any of the Cleargie, euen from the loweſt of the Order of Clarkes and Monkes, ſhall be found to haue violated the generall Oathes made for the preſeruation of the Kings Perſon and the Countrey, forthwith let him bee depriued of all Dignity, and excluded from all place and Honor.* The occaſion of the Decrees made for this Oath, was, That the Chriſtians were ſuſpected for want of fidelitie to their Kings, And did either Equiuocate in taking their Oath, or make no conſcience to keepe it, when they had giuen it: As may appeare by ſundry ſpeeches in the [b] Councel, ſaying, *There is a generall report, That there is that perfidiouſneſſe in the mindes of many people of diuers Nations, that they make no conſcience to keepe the Oath and Fidelitie that they haue ſworne vnto their Kings, but doe diſſemble a profeſſion of Fidelitie*

[a] *Concil. Tolet. 10. Can. 2. Aera 694.*

[b] *Concil. Toletan. 4. cap. 75.*

Fidelitie in their mouthes, When they holde an impious perfidiouſneſſe in their mindes. And f againe, *They ſweare to their Kings, that thereupon they may preuaricate in the fidelitie which they haue promiſed. Neither doe they feare the volume of Gods Iudgement, in the which the curſe of God is threatned vpon them, which doe ſweare in the Name of God deceitfully.* To the like effect ſpake they in the Councell of a *Aquiſgran, That whoſoeuer, from the higheſt to the loweſt of the Cleargie, ſhall make defection from the Orthodoxe Emperour* Lodowicke, *or ſhall violate the Oath of Fidelitie made vnto him, or ſhall adhere to his Enemies; let him bee depriued of all Honour and Dignitie.*

f Concil. Tole. 4. Cap. 75.

a Concil. Aquiſ. gran. ſub Ludou. Pio & Greg. 4. can. 12. anno 836.

And now to come to a particular anſwere of his Letter. Firſt as concerning the ſweet memorie hee hath of his old acquaintance with the Arch-prieſt; it may indeed be pleaſing for him to recount: But ſure I am, his acquaintance with him, and the reſt of his ſocietie our Fugitiues, (whereof he alſo vanteth himſelfe in his preface to the reader, in his booke of Controuerſies) hath prooued ſowre to vs and our State. For ſome of ſuch

Prieſts

Prieſts and Ieſuites as were the greateſt Traitours and Fomenters of the greateſt Conſpiracies againſt her late Maieſtie, gaue vp Father *Robert* [b] *Bellarmine* for one of their greateſt authorities and oracles. And therfore, I doe not enuie the great honour hee can winne by his vaunt of his inward familiaritie with an other Princes Traitours, and Fugitiues: whom vnto, if he teach no better maners, then hitherto he hath done, I thinke his Fellowſhip are little beholding vnto him.

And for deſiring him to remember him in his prayers at the altar of the Lord: If the Arch prieſts prayers proue no more profitable to his ſoule, then *Bellarmines* counſell is like to proue profitable both to the ſoule and body of *Blackwell* (if he would followe it;) the authour of this letter might very well be without his prayers.

Now the firſt meſſenger that I can finde, which brought ioyfull newes of the Archprieſt to *Bellarmine*, was he that brought the newes of the Arch-prieſtes taking, and firſt appearance of *Martyrdome*. A great ſigne ſurely of the Cardinals mortification, that he

b Campion & Hart. See the conference in the Tower.

was so reioyced to heare of the apprehension, imprisonment, and appearance of putting to death, of so old and deare a friend of his. But yet apparantly he should first haue bene sure, that he was onely to be punished for cause of Religion, before hee had so triumphed vpon the expectation of his *Martyrdome*. For first, by what rule of Charitie was it lawfull for him to iudge the King our Soueraigne a Persecutour, before proofe had bene made of it, by the saide Arch-priestes condemnation and death? What could hee know, That the said Arch-priest was not taken vpon suspition of his guiltinesse in the Powder-treason? What certaine information had he then receiued vpon the particulars, whereupon he was to be accused? And last of all, by what inspiration could he foretell whereupon hee was to be accused? For at that time there was yet nothing laide to his charge. And if Charitie should not be suspitious, what warrant had hee absolutely to condemne our Soueraigne of vsing persecution and tyrannie, which could not but bee implied vpon his Maiestie, if *Blackwell* was

The Cardinals charitie.

to

to be a Martyr? But ſurely it may iuſtly bee ſaid of *Bellarmine* in this caſe, that our Sauiour CHRIST ſaith of all worldly and carnall men, who thinke it enough to loue their [a] friends, and hate their enemies; the limits of the Cardinals charitie extending no farther, then to them of his owne profeſsion. For what euer he added in ſuperfluous charitie to *Blackwell* in reioycing in the ſpeculation of his future *Martyrdome*, hee detracted as much vniuſtly and vncharitably from his Maieſtie our Soueraigne, in accounting of him thereby as of a bloody perſecutour. And whereas this ioy of his was interrupted by the next meſſenger, that brought the newes of the ſaid Arch-prieſt his failing in his Conſtancie by taking of this Oath; hee needed neuer to haue bene troubled, either with his former ioy, or his ſecond ſorrowe, both being alike falſly grounded. For as it was neuer his Maieſties intention to lay any thing vnto the ſaid Arch-prieſts charge, as he hath neuer done to any, for cauſe of Conſcience; So was *Blackwels* conſtancie neuer brangled by taking of this Oath; It being

[a] Matth. 5. 43.

a thing, which hee euer thought lawfull before his apprehenſion, and whereunto hee perſwaded all Catholikes to giue obedience; like as after his apprehenſion, he neuer made doubt, nor ſtop in it, but at the firſt offering it vnto him, did freely take it, as a thing moſt lawfull; Neither meanes of threatning, or flatterie, being euer vſed vnto him, as himſelfe can yet beare witneſſe.

And as for the temperature and modification of this Oath, Except that a reaſonable and lawfull matter is there ſet downe in reaſonable and temperate wordes agreeing thereunto; I know not what he can meane, by quarrelling it for that fault. For no temperatneſſe nor modifications in words therein, can iuſtly be called the deuils craft, when the thing it ſelfe is ſo plaine, and ſo plainely interpreted to all them that take it, as the only troubleſome thing in it all, be the words vſed in the ende thereof, for eſchewing *Equiuocation* and mentall reſeruation; which newe Catholique doctrine may farre iuſtlier be called the deuils craft, then any plaine and temperate words, in ſo plaine and cleare a mat-

a matter. But what ſhall wee ſay of theſe ſtrange *Agreſtes*, whome of with the *Satyre* we may iuſtly complaine, that they blowe both hote and cold out of one mouth? For *Luther* and all our bolde and free ſpeaking writers, are mightily railed vpon by them, as hot brained fellowes, and ſpeakers by the deuils inſtinct: And now if we ſpeake moderately and temperately of them, it muſt be termed the deuils craft. And therefore wee may iuſtly complaine with CHRIST, that when wee [a] mourne, they will not lament, and when we pipe, they wil not dance. But neither *Iohn Baptiſt* his ſeueritie, nor CHRIST his meekeneſſe and lenitie can pleaſe them, who builde but to their owne Monarchie, vpon the ground of their owne traditions, and not to CHRIST, vpon the ground of his Word and infallible Trueth.

[a] Matt. 11. 17.

But what can bee meant by alleadging, That the craft of the deuill herein is onely vſed for ſubuerſion of the Catholike Faith, and euerſion of S. *Peters* Primacy, had need be commented anew by *Bellarmine* himſelf. For in all this Letter of his, neuer one word

is vſed to prooue, that by any part of this Oath the primacie of Saint *Peter* is any way medled with, except Maſter *Bellarmine* his bare alledging; which without prouing it by more cleare demonſtration, can neuer ſatiſfie the conſcience of any reaſonable man. For, for ought that I knowe, Heauen and Earth are no farther aſunder, then the profeſsion of a Temporall obedience to a Temporall King, is different from any thing belonging to the Catholike Faith, or Supremacie of Saint *Peter*. For, as for the Catholike Faith, can there bee one word found in all that Oath, tending or ſounding to matter of Religion? Doeth he that taketh it, promiſe there to beleeue, or not to beleeue any Article of Religion? Or doeth hee ſo much as name a true or a falſe Church there? And as for Saint *Peters* Primacy, I know no Apoſtles name that is therein named, but the name of our Soueraigne *Iames*, though it pleaſe him not to deigne to name him in all the Letter, albeit the contents thereof concerne him in the higheſt degree. Neither is there any mention at all made therein, either

No deciſion of any point of Religion in the Oath of Allegiance.

ther *conceptis verbis*, or by any other indirect meanes, either of the Hierarchy of the Church, of Saint *Peters* succeſsion, of the Sea Apoſtolike, or of any ſuch matter: But that the Author of our Letter doeth brauely make mention of Saint *Peters* ſucceſsion, bringing it in compariſon with the ſucceſsion of *Henry* the eight. Of which vnapt and vnmannerly Similitude, I wonder he ſhould not bee much aſhamed. For, as our King *Henries* ſucceſſour, whom by he meaneth, neuer did, nor will preſume to create any Article of Faith, or to be Iudge thereof, but to ſubmit his exemplary obedience vnto them, in as great humilitie, as the meaneſt of the land; So if the Pope could bee as well able to prooue his, either Perſonall, or Doctrinall ſucceſsion from S. *Peter*, as hee is able to proue his lineall deſcent from the Kings of England and Scotland, there had neuer bene ſo long adoe, nor ſo much ſturre kept about this Queſtion in Chriſtendome; Neither had [a] *M. Bellarmine* himſelfe needed to haue beſtowed ſo many ſheetes of paper, *De ſummo Pontifice* in his great Bookes of Contro-

Farre more eaſie to proue his Maieſties ſucceſſion from his Anceſtors, then the Pope from S. *Peter*.

[a] *Bellar de Rom Pont. lib. 4 cap 6. Bellar. de Rom Pontif. lib. 2 cap. 12.*

Controuerſies: And when all is done, to conclude with a morall certitude, and a *pie credendum*, bringing in the [b] Popes, that are parties in this cauſe, to be his witneſſes: And yet their Hiſtoricall Narration muſt be no Article of Faith. And ſure we are, that his Maieſtie our Soueraigne, doeth vertuouſly imitate the worthy Actions of his predeceſſors; In whom their Vertues doe more brightly ſhine, then can be well proued the Popes in our age to be *ſimiles Petro*, eſpecially in curſing of Kings, and ſetting free their Subiects from their Allegiance vnto them.

b *Bellar. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 2. cap. 14.*

But now we come to his ſtrongeſt Argument; which is, That he would alledge vpon our Soueraigne a Panick terrour, as if he were poſſeſſed with a needeleſſe feare. *For*, ſaith the Cardinall, *from the beginning of the Church his firſt Infancie, euen to this day, Where was it euer heard, that euer a Pope either commanded to be killed, or allowed the ſlaughter of any Prince whatſoeuer, whether he were an Heretike, an Ethnike, or Perſecutor?* But firſt, wherefore doth he here wilfully, and of purpoſe omit the reſt of the points mentioned

The Cardinals waightieſt Argument.

in

in that Oath, for deposing, degrading, stirring vp of Armes, or Rebelling against them, which are as well mentioned in that Oath, as the killing of them? As being all of one consequence against a King, no Subiect being so scrupulous, as that he will attempt the one, and leaue the other vnperformed if he can. And yet surely I cannot blame him for passing it ouer, since he could not otherwise haue eschewed the direct belying of himselfe in tearmes, which he now doeth but in substance and effect. For [a] as for the Popes deposing and degrading of Kings, hee maketh so braue vaunts and bragges of it in his former Bookes, as he could neuer with ciuill honestie haue denyed it here.

[a] Bellar. de Rom. Pontif lib. 5. cap. 8. & lib. 3 cap. 16.

But to returne to the Popes allowing of killing of Kings, I know not with what face he can set so stout a denyall vpon it against his owne knowledge. How many Emperors did the Pope raise warre against in their owne bowels? Who as they were ouercome in battayle, were subiect to haue bene killed therein; which I hope the Pope could not but haue allowed, when hee was so farre

inraged at [b] *Henry* the fifth for giuing buriall to his fathers dead corps, after the Pope had ſtirred him vp to rebell againſt his father, and procured his ruine. But leauing theſe olde Hiſtories to *Bellarmines* owne bookes, that doe moſt authentically cite them, as I haue already ſaid, let vs turne our eyes vpon our owne time, and therein remember what a Panegyrik [c] oration was made by the Pope, in praiſe and approbation of the Frier and his fact, that murthered King *Henry* the third of *France*; who was ſo farre from either being Heretike, Ethnike, or Perſecutor in their account, that the ſaid Popes owne wordes in that Oration are, *That a true Frier had killed a counterfeit Frier.* And beſides that vehement Oration, and congratulation for that fact, how neere it ſcaped, that the ſaid Frier was not Canonized for that glorious Acte, is better knowen to *Bellarmine* and his followers, then to vs here.

But ſure I am, if ſome Cardinals had not beene more wiſe and circumſpect in that errand, then the Pope himſelfe was, the Popes owne Calender of his Saints would haue

ſuffici-

b *Platina & Cuſpianus in vita Henrici 4.*

c See the Oration of *Sixtus Quintus* made in the Conſiſtory vpon the death of *Henry* the 3.

ſufficiently proued *Bellarmine* a lyar in this caſe. And to drawe yet neerer vnto our ſelues; How many Practiſes and Attempts were made againſt the late Queene our Soueraignes life, which were directly inioyned to thoſe Traytors by their Confeſſors, and plainly authorized by the Popes allowance? For verification whereof, there needes no more proofe, then that neuer Pope either then or ſince, called any Church-man in queſtion for medling in thoſe Treaſonable conſpiracies; Nay, the Cardinals owne *S. Sanderus* mentioned in his Letter, coulde well verifie this trueth, if he were aliue; and who wil looke his books, wil find them filled with no other Doctrine then this. And what difference there is betweene the killing or allowing the ſlaughter of Kings, and the ſtirring vp and approbation of practiſes to kill them, I remit to *Bellarmines* owne iudgement. It may then very clearely appeare, how ſtrangely this Authours paſsion hath made him forget himſelfe, by implicating himſelfe in ſo ſtrong a Contradiction againſt his owne knowledge and conſcience, againſt

the witnesse of his former Bookes, and against the practise of our owne times. But who can wonder at this Contradiction of himselfe in this poynt, when his owne great Volumes are so filled with Contradictions? which when either he or any other shall euer be able to reconcile, I will then beleeue that he may easily reconcile this impudent strong deniall of his in his Letter, of any Popes medling against Kings, with his owne former Bookes, as I haue already said.

And that I may not seeme to imitate him in affirming boldly that which I no wayes proue; I will therefore send the Reader to looke for witnesses of his Contradictions, in such places here mentioned in his owne booke. In his books of [a] Iustification, there he affirmeth, *That for the vncertaintie of our owne proper Righteousnesse, and for auoiding of vaine glory, it is most sure and safe, to repose our whole confidence in the alone mercie and goodnes of God:* [b] Which proposition of his, is directly contrary to the discourse, and current of all his fiue bookes *de Iustificatione*, wherein the same is conteined.

a *Bellar. de Iusti. lib. 5. cap. 7.*

b Contrary to all his 5. bookes *de Iustificatione.*

God

God doeth not incline a man to euill, either [c] *naturally or morally.*

Presently after, he affirmeth the contrary, *That God doeth not encline to euill naturally, but* [d] *morally.*

All the Fathers teach constantly, *That* [e] *Bishops doe succeed the Apostles, and Priests the seuentie disciples.*

He affirmeth the contrary, *That* [f] *Bishops do not properly succeed the Apostles.*

That [g] *Iudas did not beleeue.*

Contrary, *That* [h] *Iudas was iust and certainly good.*

The keeping of the [i] *Law according to the substance of the worke, doeth require, that the Commandement be so kept, that sinne be not committed, and the man be not guiltie for hauing not kept the Commandement.*

Contrary, [k] *It is to be knowen, that it is not all one, to doe a good morall worke, and to keepe the Commandement according to the substance of the worke. For the Commandement may be kept according to the substance of the worke, euen with sinne; As if one should restore to his friend the thing committed to him of trust, to*

c Bellar. de amiss. gra. & stat. pecca. lib. 2. cap. 13.

d Ibidem paulò post.

e Bellar de clericis. lib. 1. cap. 14

f Bellar. de Pont. lib. 4. cap. 25.

g Bellar. de Pont. lib. 1. cap. 12.

h Bellar. de Iusti. lib. 3 cap. 14.

i Bellar. de gra. & lib. arbit. lib. 5. cap. 5.

k Eodem lib. cap. 9.

the end that theeues might afterward take it from him.

l Bellar. de Pont. lib. 4. cap. 3.

l Peter *did not loose that righteousnesse that was in his heart.*

m Bellar. de Iust lib 3 cap 14.

Contrary, m *Peters sinne was deadly.*

n Bellar. de Rom. Pontif. lib. 3. cap. 14.

n *Antichrist shall be a Magitian, and after the maner of other Magitians shall secretly worship the deuill.*

o Ibid ex senten. Hypol. & Cyrilli & cap. 12 eiusdem libri.

o Contrary, *He shal not admit of idolatrie: he shall hate idoles, and reedifie the Temple.*

p Bellar. lib. 1. de missa cap. 27.

By the words of p *Consecration the true and solemne Oblation is made.*

q Bellar. de miss. lib. 2 cap. 11.

Contrary, *The* q *Oblation is not made by the wordes, but doeth consist in the offering of the thing it selfe.*

r Bellar de anim. Christ. lib. 4 cap 5

r *That the ende of the world cannot bee knowen.*

s Bellar. de Pont. lib. 3 cap. 17.

s Contrary, *After the death of Antichrist, there shall bee but fiue and fortie dayes till the end of the world.*

t Bellar. de Pont. lib. 3 cap. 14.

t *That the tenne Kings shal burne the scarlet whore, that is, Rome.*

u Bellar. ibidem.

u Contrary, *Antichrist shal hate Rome, and fight against it, and burne it.*

x Bellar. de Pont. lib. 2. cap. 31.

x *The name of vniuersall Bishop may bee vnder-*

vnderstood two wayes; One way, that he which is said to be vniuersall Bishop, may be thought to be the onely Bishop; so that all other Bishops are but onely his Vicars.

Contrary, *All ordinarie* y *Iurisdiction of Bishops doth descend immediatly from the* Pope. Which few places I haue onely selected amongst many the like, that the discreete and iudicious Reader may discerne *Ex vngue Leonem.* For when euer hee is pressed with a weighty Obiection, he neuer careth, nor remembreth how his Solution and Answere to that, may make him gainesay his owne Doctrine in some other places, so it serue him for a shift to put off the present storme withall.

y Bellar. de Pon. lib. 4. cap. 24.

But now to returne to our matter againe. *Since Popes*, saith hee, *haue neuer at any time medled against Kings, Wherefore, I pray you, should onely the King of* England *bee afraid of that, whereof neuer Christian King is, or was afraid?* Was neuer Christian Emperour or King afraid of the Popes? How then were these miserable Emperours tost and turmoiled, and in the end vtterly ruined by

by the Popes, for proofe whereof I haue already cited *Bellarmines* owne bookes? Was not the [a] Emperour afraid, who waited barefooted in the frost & snow three dayes at the Popes gate, before he could get entrie? Was not the [b] Emperor also afraid, who was driuen to lie agroofe on his belly, and suffer another Pope to tread vpon his necke? And was not another [c] Emperour afraid, who was constrained in like maner to indure a third Pope to beate off from his head the Imperiall Crowne with his foote? Was not [d] *Philip* afraid, being made Emperour against Pope *Innocentius* the thirds good liking, when he brake out into these words, *Either the Pope shall take the Crowne from* Philip, *or* Philip *shall take the Miter from the Pope?* Whereupon the Pope stirred vp *Otho* against him, who slew him, and presently went to *Rome*, and was crowned Emperour by the Pope, though afterward the Pope deposed him too. Was not the Emperour [e] *Frederike* afraid, when *Innocentius* the fourth excommunicated him, depriued him of his Crown, absolued Princes of their Oath of Fidelity to him,

a *Abbas Vspergen. Lam. Scafen. Anno* 1077. *Plat in vit. Greg.* 7.

b *Alfons. Ciacon. in vit. Alex.* 3. *Geneb. Chronol.*

c *Randulph. in Polychronicon, lib.* 7.

d *Abbas Vsperg.*

e *Petrus de vineis Epist.* 2. *lib.* 2. *& Cuspian in vit. Frederici* 2.

him, and in *Apulia* corrupted one to giue him poiſon? Whereof the Emperour recouering, he hired one *Manfredus* to poiſon him; whereof he died. What did [f] *Alexander* the third write to the *Soldan*, That if hee would liue quietly, hee ſhould by ſome ſleight murther the Emperour? And to that end ſent him the Emperours picture. And did not [g] *Alexander* the ſixt take of the Turke *Baiazetes* two hundred thouſand Crownes to kill his brother *Gemen*, or as ſome call him, *Siſimus*, whom hee helde Captiue at *Rome*? Did hee not accept of the conditions to poiſon the man, and had his pay? Was not our [h] *Henry* the ſecond afraid after the ſlaughter of *S. Becket*, That beſides his going bare-footed in Pilgrimage, was whipped vp and downe the Chapter-houſe like a ſchoole-boy, and glad to eſcape ſo too? Had not the King of *France* his father reaſon to be afraid, when the [i] Pope gaue away his Kingdome of *Nauarre* to the King of *Spaine*, whereof hee yet poſſeſſeth the beſt halfe? Had not the King his ſonne reaſon to be afraid, when hee was forced to begge ſo ſub-

f *Paulus Ionius Hiſt. lib. 2.*

g *Cuſpianus.*

h *Houenden pag. 539.*

i *Gomecius de rebus geſtis Fran. Ximenij Archiepiſc. Tolet. lib. 5.*

missiuely the relaxation of his Excommunication, as he was content likewise to suffer his Ambassadour to be whipped at *Rome* for penance? And had not our late Soueraigne reason to looke to her selfe, when shee was Excommunicated by *Pius Quintus*, her Subiects loosed from their Fidelitie and Allegiance towards her, her Kingdome of *Ireland* giuen to the King of *Spaine*, and that famous fugitiue Diuine, honoured with the like degree of a red Hat as *Bellarmine* is, is not ashamed to publish in print an [a] Apologie for *Stanlies* Treason, maintaining, That by reason of her Excommunication and Heresie, it was not onely lawfull for any of her Subiects, but euen they were bound in Conscience to depriue her of any Strength, which lay in their power to doe? And whether it were Armies, Townes, or Fortresses of hers which they had in their handes, they were obliged to put them in the King of *Spaine* her enemies hands, She no more being the right owner of any thing? But albeit it bee true, That wise men are moued by the examples of others dangers to vse Prouidence and

[a] Card. Allens answere to Stan. Let. Anno 1587

cau-

caution, according to the olde prouerbe, *Tum tua res agitur, paries cùm proximus ardet*: yet his Maiestie our Soueraigne was neerelier ſummoned to vſe this caution, by the practiſe of it in his owne Perſon.

Firſt, by the ſending forth of theſe Buls, whereof I made mention already, for debarring him from Entrie vnto this Crowne, and Kingdome. And next after his Entrie and full poſſeſsion thereof, by the horrible Powder-Treaſon, which ſhould haue bereft both him and his, both of Crowne and Life. And howſoeuer the Pope will ſeeme to cleare himſelfe of any allowance of the ſaid Powder-Treaſon; yet can it not be denied, that his principall Miniſters here, and his chiefe *Mancipia* the Ieſuites, were the plaine practiſers thereof: For which the principall of them hath died confeſsing it, and others haue fled the Countrey for the Crime; yea, ſome of them gone into *Italy*: And yet neither theſe that fled out of this Countrey for it, nor yet *Baldwine*, who though he then remained in the Low-countryes, was of counſell in it, were euer called to account for it

by the Pope, much leſſe puniſhed for medling in ſo ſcandalous and enormous buſineſſe. And now what needes ſo great wonder and exclamation, That the only King of *England* feareth, And what other Chriſtian King doeth, or euer did feare but hee? As if by the force of his Rhetoricke he could make his Maieſtie and his good Subiects to miſtruſt our Senſes, deny the Sunne to ſhine at midday, and not with the Serpent to ſtop our eares to his charming, but to the plaine and viſible Veritie it ſelfe. And yet for all this wonder, hee can neuer proue our Soueraigne to bee troubled with ſuch a Panick-Terror. Hath hee importuned the Pope with any requeſt for his ſecurity? Or hath hee either troubled other Chriſtian Princes his Friends and Allies, to intreate for him at the Popes hand? Or yet hath hee begged from them any aide or aſsiſtance for his farther ſecurity? No: all this wondered at feare of his, ſtretcheth no further, then wiſely to make diſtinction betweene the Sheepe and Goates in his owne paſture. For ſince, what euer the Popes part hath bene in the

Pow-

Powder-Treaſon; yet certaine it is, That all theſe caitife Monſters did to their death maintaine, that only zeale of Religion mooued them to that horrible Attempt: Yea, ſome of them at their death would not craue pardon at God or King for their offence, exhorting other of their Followers to the like conſtancie. Had not then our Soueraigne and his Parliament great reaſon, by this Oath to ſet a marke of diſtinction betweene good Subiects, and bad? Yea, betweene Papiſts, though peraduenture zealous in their Religion, yet otherwiſe Ciuilly honeſt and good Subiects, and ſuch terrible Firebrands of Hell, as would maintaine the like Maximes, which theſe Powder-men did? Nay, was there euer a more Gratious part in a King, as I ſaid before, towards Subiects of a contrary Religion, then by making them to take this Oath, to publiſh their honeſt fidelitie in Temporall things to their Soueraigne, and thereby to wipe off that imputation and great ſlander which was laid vpon the whole profeſſors of that Religion, by the furious enterpriſe of theſe Powder-men?

And whereas for illuſtration of this ſtrong Argument of his, hee hath brought in for a ſimilitude the hiſtorie of [a] *Iulian* the *Apoſtata* his dealing with the Chriſtians, when as he ſtraited them, either to commit idolatrie, or to come within the compaſſe of treaſon: I would wiſh the Author to remember, that although a ſimilitude may bee permitted *claudicare vno pede*; yet this was a very ill choſen ſimilitude, which is lame both of feete and handes, and euery member of the body. For I ſhall in few wordes proue, that it agreeth in no one point, ſaue one, with our purpoſe, which is, that *Iulian* was an Emperour, and our Soueraigne is a King. Firſt, *Iulian* was an *Apoſtata*, one that had renounced the whole Chriſtian faith, which he had once profeſſed, and became an Ethnike againe, or rather an Atheiſt: Our Soueraigne is a Chriſtian, who neuer changed that Religion, that he dranke in with his milke, nor euer was aſhamed of his profeſsion. *Iulian* dealt againſt Chriſtians onely for the profeſsion of Chriſts cauſe: His Maieſtie in this caſe dealeth with his Subiects, only to make a di-

[a] *Nazianzenus in Iulian. inuectiua prima.*

The diſproportion of the Cardinals ſimilitude.

a distinction betweene true Subiects and false hearted Traitours. *Iulians* ende was the ouerthrow of the Christians: His Maiesties end is, to maintaine Christianitie in a peaceable gouernement. *Iulians* drift was to make them commit idolatrie: His Maiesties drift is, to make his Subiects to make open profession of their naturall Allegiance, and ciuill Obedience. *Iulians* meanes whereby he went about it, was by craft, and insnaring them before they were aware: His Maiesties course in this is plaine, cleare, and voide of all obscuritie, neuer refusing leaue to any that are required to take this Oath, to studie it at leisure, and giuing them all the interpretation of it they can craue. But the greatest dissimilitude of all is in this: That *Iulian* pressed them to commit idolatrie to idoles and images: But his Maiestie and all his Subiects of his profession are so farre from guilt in this point, as wee are counted Heretiques by you, because wee will not commit idolatrie. So as, in the maine point of all, is the greatest contrarietie: For, *Iulian* persecuted the Christians because they would not com-

commit idolatrie; and yee count his Maiestie a persecutour, because he will not admit idolatrie. So as to conclude this point, this old Poets sentence may well bee applied to *Bellarmine*, in vsing so vnapt a similitude, *Perdere quos vult Iupiter, hos dementat.*

And therefore his vncharitable conclusion doth not rightly follow, *That it seemeth vnto him, that some such thing should be subtilly or fraudulently included iu this Oath*; As if no man can detest Treason against the King, or professe Ciuil subiection, except he renounce the Primacie of the Apostolike Sea. But how he hath suckt this apprehension out at his fingers ends, I cannot imagine: for sure I am, as I haue oft said, he neuer goeth about to proue it: And to answere an improbable imagination, is to fight against a vanishing shadow. It cannot be denied in deede, that many seruants of CHRIST, as well Priests as others, haue endured constantly all sortes of Torments, and Death for the profession of CHRIST: And therefore to all such his examples, as he bringeth in for verifying the same, I neede not to giue him any other answere,

ſwere, ſaue onely to remember him, that he playeth the part of a Sophiſter in all theſe his Examples of the conſtancie of Martyrs, euer taking *Controuerſum pro confeſſo*, as if this our caſe were of the ſame nature.

But yet that the Reader may the better diſcouer, not only how vnaptly his Similitudes are applied, but likewiſe how diſhoneſtly he vſeth himſelfe in all his citations; I haue thought good to ſet downe the very places themſelues cited by him, together with a ſhort deduction of the true ſtate of thoſe particular Caſes: whereby, how little theſe Examples can touch our Caſe; nay by the contrary, how rightly their true ſenſe may bee vſed, as our owne weapons to be throwen backe vpon him that alleadgeth them, ſhall eaſily appeare. And firſt, for [a]*Eleazar*. If the Arch-prieſt his ground of refuſing his Maieſties Oath, were as good as *Eleazars* was, to forbeare to eate the Swines fleſh, it might not vnfitly be applied by the Cardinall to this purpoſe. For as *Eleazar* was a principall Scribe, ſo is he a principall Prieſt: As *Eleazars* example had a great force in it,

[a] *2. Macchabees cap. 6. verſ. 18.*

An anſwere to the Cardinals example of *Eleazar.*

to animate the yonger Scribes to keepe the Lawe, or in his colourable eating it, to haue taught them to dissemble; So hath the Archpriests, either to make the inferiour Priests to take the Oath, or to refuse it: but the ground fayling, the building cannot stand. For what example is there in all the Scripture, in which disobedience to the Oath of the King, or want of allegiance is allowed? If the Cardinall would remember, that when the Church maketh a law (suppose to forbid flesh on certaine daies) he that refuseth to obey it, incurreth the iust censure of the Church: If a man then ought to dye rather then to breake the least of Gods Ceremoniall Laws, and to pine and starue his body, rather then to violate the Church his positiue law: Will hee not giue leaue to a man to redeeme his soule from sinne, and to keepe his body from punishment, by keeping the Kings politique lawe, and by giuing good example in his person, raise vp a good opinion in his Maiestie of like Allegiance in the inferiours of his order? This application, as I take it, would haue better fitted this example.

But

But let mee remember the Cardinall of another [a] Oath inioyned by a King to his people, wherby he indangered his owne life, and hazarded the safety of the whole armie, when he made the people sweare in the morning, not to taste of any meate vntill night: which oath hee exacted so strictly, That his eldest sonne and heire apparant *Ionathan* for breaking of it, by taking a litle honie, though he heard not when the King gaue it, had well nigh died for it. And shall an oath giuen vpon so vrgent an occasion as this was, for the apparant safetie of the King and his posterity, forbidding his people to drinke so deepely in the bitter cup of Antichristian fornications, but that they may keepe so much hony in their hearts, as may argue them still espoused to their Soueraigne in the maine knot of true allegiance; Shal this law, I say, by him bee condemned to hell for a stratageme of Sathan? I say no more, but Gods lot in that oath of *Sauls*, and his verdict vpon this Oath of our Kings, seeme not to be cast out of one lap.

[a] 1. Sam. 14. 24.

Now to his example of [b] *Basill*, which is (as

[b] *Theodoret lib. 4. cap. 19.*

An answere to the Card. example of *S. Basil.*

(as hee saith) so fit for his purpose. First, I must obserue, that if the Cardinall would leaue a common and ordinarie tricke of his in all his citations, which is, to take what makes for him, and leaue out what makes against him; and cite the authours sense, as well as his sentence; wee should not be so much troubled with answering the Ancients which he alleadgeth. To instance it in this very place. If he had continued his allegation one line further, hee should haue found this place out of *Theodoret*, of more force to haue mooued *Blackwell* to take the Oath, then to haue disswaded him from it. For in the very next words it followeth, *Imperatoris quidem amicitiam magni se pendere cum pietate; quâ remotâ, perniciosum esse dicere.* But that it may appeare, whether of vs haue greatest right to this place, I will in few wordes shew the authors drift.

The Emperour *Valens* being an Arrian, at the perswasion of his wife, when hee had depriued all the Churches of their Pastors, came to *Cæsarea*, where Saint [a] *Basill* was then Bishop; who, as the Story reporteth,

[a] *Theodoret lib. 4. cap. 19.*

was

was accounted the Light of the world. Before he came, he sent his [a] Deputie to worke it, that Saint *Basill* should hold fellowship with *Eudoxius*, (which [b] *Eudoxius* was Bishop of *Constantinople*, and the principall of the Arrian Faction) or if he would not, that hee should put him to banishment. Now when the Emperours Deputie came to *Cæsarea*, he sent for *Basill*, intreated him honourably, spake pleasingly vnto him, desired he would giue way to the time, neither that he would hazard the good of so many Churches *tenui exquisitione Dogmatis*, promised him the Emperours fauour, and himselfe to be Mediator for his good. But Saint *Basill* answered, *These intising speeches were fit to be vsed to children, that vse to gape after such things: But for them that were throughly instructed in Gods word, they could neuer suffer any syllable thereof to be corrupted. Nay, if neede required, they would for the maintenance thereof, refuse no kinde of death. Indeede the loue of the Emperour ought to be greatly esteemed with Pietie; But Pietie taken away, it was pernicious.*

[a] *Modestus*, as *Nazian.* vpon the death of *Basill*, cals him in his Orat.

[b] Looke cap. 12. *eiusdem libri.*

This is the trueth of the Story. Now compare the case of *Basill* with the Arch-priests. For otherwise so Orthodoxe a King ought not to be compared with so Arrian an Heretike. *Basill* was solicited to become an Arrian: The Arch-priest not once touched for any Article of Faith. *Basill* would haue obeyed the Emperour, but that the word of GOD forbade him: This man is willed to obey, because the word of GOD commandeth him. *Basill* highly esteemed the Emperours fauour, if it might haue stood with pietie: The Arch-priest is exhorted to reiect it, though it stand with true godlinesse in deede to embrace it. But that hee may lay load vpon the Arch-priest, it is not sufficient to exhort him to Courage and Constancie by *Eleazars* and *Basils* examples, but he must be vtterly cast downe with the comparing his fall to *S. Peters* and *Marcellinus*: which two mens cases were the most fearefull, considering their persons and places, that are to bee found, or read of either in all the Bookes of Diuine Scripture, or the volumes of Ecclesiasticall Stories; the one

The Card. assimilating of the Archpr. case to *S. Peters*, and *Marcellinus*, considered.

one denying the onely true God, the other our Lord and Sauiour IESVS CHRIST; the one ſacrificing to Idols with the profane Heathen, the other forſwearing his Lord and Maſter, with the hard-hearted Iewes. Vnles the Cardinall would driue the Arch-prieſt to ſome horror of conſcience, & pit of deſpaire, I know not what he can meane by this compariſon. For ſure I am, all that are not intoxicated with their cup, cannot but wonder to heare of an oath of Allegiance to a naturall Soueraigne, to be likened to an *Apoſtats* denying of God, & forſwearing of his Sauiour.

But to let paſſe the *Diſdiapaſon* of the Caſes (as his illfauored coupling Saint *Peter* the head of their Church, with an Apoſtate Pope.) I maruaile he would remember this example of [a] *Marcellinus*, ſince his brother Cardinall *Baronius*, and the late Edition of the Councels by [b] *Binnius* ſeeme to call the credit of the whole Story into queſtion, ſaying, *That it might plainely be refuted, and that it is probably to be ſhewed, that the ſtory is but obreptitious*, but that hee would not ſwarue from the common receiued opinion.

And

[a] Looke *Platina in vita Marcellini.*

[b] *Concil. Tom. 1. pag. 222.* Looke *Baronius Anno 302. num. 96.*

And if a man might haue leaue to coniecture, so would his Cardinallship too, if it were not for one or two Sentences in that Councell of *Sinuessanum*, which serued for his purpose: namely that, *Prima sedes à nemine iudicatur*: And *Iudica causam tuam, nostrâ sententiâ non condemnaberis.* But to what purpose a great Councell (as hee tearmes it) of three hundred Bishops and others should meete together, who before they met, knew they could doe nothing; when they were there, did nothing, but like Cuckowes, sing ouer and ouer the same song: That *Prima sedes à nemine iudicatur*, and so after three dayes sitting, (a long time indeed for a great and graue Councell) brake so bluntly vp: and yet, that there should be seuentie two witnesses brought against him, & that they should subscribe his Excommunication, and that at his owne mouth he tooke the *Anathema maranatha*: How these vntoward contradictions shall be made to agree, I must send the Cardinall to *Venice* to *Padre Paulo*, who in his [a] Apology against the Cardinalls Propositions, hath handled them very learnedly.

[a] *Apol. Pat. Paul. aduersus oppositt. Card. Bellar.*

But

But from one *Pope*, let vs passe to another. For, what a principall article of faith and religion this oath is, I haue already sufficiently proued. Why hee called S. [a] *Gregory* our Apostle, I know not, vnlesse perhaps it be, for that he sent [b] *Augustine* the Monke and others with him into *England*, to conuert vs to the faith of Christ, wherein I wish the *Popes* his successours would followe his patterne. For albeit he sent them by diuine reuelation (as he said) into *England* vnto King *Ethelbert*; yet when they came they exercised no part of their function, but by the Kings leaue and permission. So did King [c] *Lucius* send to *Eleutherius* his Predecessour, and he sent him diuers Bishops, who were all placed by the Kings authoritie. These conuerted men to the faith, and taught them to obey the King. And if the *Popes* in these dayes would but insist in these steps of their forefathers; then would they not intertaine Princes Fugitiues abroad, nor send them home (not onely without the Kings leaue, but directly against his lawes) with plots of treason and doctrine of rebellion, to draw

An answere to to the place alledged out of S. Gregory.

a *Greg. lib. 11. cap. 42.*

b *Beda Eccles. Histo. gen. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 25.*

c *Beda eccles. Hist. gen. Ang. lib. 1. cap. 4.*

Subiects from their obedience to their naturall King, nor bee so cruell to their owne *Mancipia*, as returning them with these wares, put either a State in iealousie of them, or them in hazard of their owne liues. Now to our Apostle (since the Cardinall will haue him so called) I perswade my selfe I should doe a good seruice to the Church in this my labour, if I could but reape this one fruite of it, to moue the Cardinall to deale faithfully with the Fathers, and neuer to alleadge their opinions against their owne purpose. For, this letter of *Gregorius* was written to *Iohn* Bishop of [a] *Palermo* in *Sicily*, to whom hee granted *vsum pallij* to be worne in such times, and in such order, as the Priests in the Ile of *Sicily*, and his Predecessours were wont to vse: and withall giueth him a Caueat, that the reuerence to the Apostolique Sea be not disturbed by the presumption of any: For then the State of the members doeth remaine sound, when the head of the faith is not broken by any iniury, and the authoritie of the Canons remaine safe and sound.

[a] *Greg. lib. 11. cap. 42.*

Now let vs examine the vvordes. The

Epistle

Epiſtle was written to a Biſhop, eſpecially to graunt him the vſe of the Pall; a ceremonie and matter indifferent. As it appeareth, the Biſhop of *Rome* tooke it well at his hands, that hee would not preſume to take it vpon him without leaue from the Apoſtolike Sea, and giuing him that admonition which followeth in the wordes alleadged out of him: which doctrine wee are ſo farre from impugning, that we altogether approue and allow of the ſame, That whatſoeuer Ceremonie for order is thought meete by the Chriſtian Magiſtrate, and the Church, the ſame ought inuiolably to be kept: And where the Head and gouernours in matters of that nature are not obeyed, the members of that Church muſt needes runne to Helliſh confuſion. But that *Gregory* by that terme, *Caput fidei*, held himſelfe the head of our Faith, and the head of all Religion, cannot ſtand with the courſe of his doctrine and vvritings. For firſt, vvhen an [a] other vvould haue had this ſtile to be called *Vniuerſalis Epiſcopus*, he ſaid, *Whoſoeuer would giue himſelfe that Title, was the Fore-runner of Antichriſt*: Which not-

[a] *Iohan. Conſtan. Greg. lib. 4. Epiſt. 32.*

vvithstanding vvas a Stile farre inferiour to that of *Caput fidei.* And vvhen it vvas offered to himselfe, the vvords of Saint *Gregory* be these, refusing that Title, [a] *That none of my Predecessors Bishops of* Rome, *euer consented to vse this vngodly name of* Vniuersall Bishop. *None of the Bishops of* Rome *euer tooke vpon vs this name of Singularitie. Wee the Bishops of* Rome *will not receiue this Honour being offered vnto vs.* And novv, I pray you, vvould he that refused to be called Vniuersall Bishop, be stiled *Caput fidei*, vnlesse it vvere in that sense, as I haue expressed? Which sense if you will not admit, giue me leaue to say that once of one, which himselfe saith often of many of the Fathers, [b] *Minùs cautè locutus est.* To redeeme therefore our Apostle out of his hands, and to let him remaine ours, and not his in this case; It is very true that he saith, in that sense hee spake it. When yee goe about to disturbe, diminish, or take away the Authority or Supremacy of the Church, which resteth on the head of the King within his Maiesties Dominions, ye cut off the head and chiefe Gouernour

a *Greg. lib. 4. Epist. 32. & 36.*

b *Bellar. de Rom. Pontif lib. 2. cap. 10. & lib. 2 de Christo cap. 2.*

uernour thereof, and disturbe the State and members of the whole Body. And for a Conclusion of this point, I pray him to thinke, that wee are so well perswaded of the good mind of our Apostle Saint *Gregory* to vs, that wee desire no other thing to be suggested to the Pope and his Cardinals, then our Apostle Saint *Gregory* desired the Deputy of the Emperour [a] *Sabinian* to suggest vnto the Emperour and the State in his time. His words be these: *One thing there is of which I would desire you would suggest it to your noble Lord and Master, That if I his seruant would haue had my hand in staying of the Lombards, at this day the Nation of the Lombards had neither had Kings, nor Dukes, nor Earles, and had bene diuided asunder in vtter confusion: but because I feare God, I dread to haue my hand in the blood of any man.*

[a] *Greg. lib. 7. Epist. 1.*

And thus hauing answered to S. *Gregory*, I come to another Pope, his Apostle, S. *Leo*. And that hee may see I haue not in the former Citations quareled him like a Sophister for contention sake, but for finding out of the Truth; I do graunt, that the Authorities out

An answere to the authoritie out of Leo.

of [b] *Leo* are rightly alleadged all three, the words truely set downe, together with his true intent and purpose. But withall, let me tell him, and I appeale vnto his owne conscience whether I speake not truely, that what *Tully* sayd to [c] *Hortensius*, when he did immoderatly praise Eloquence, that he would haue lift her vp to heauen, that himselfe might haue gone vp with her; So his Saint *Leo* lift vp Saint *Peter* with praises to the Skie, that he being his [d] heire, might haue gone vp with him. For his Saint *Leo* was a great Orator, who by the power of his Eloquence redeemed *Rome* from fire, when both [e] *Attilas* and *Gensericus* would haue burnt it.

Some fruits of this Rhetorick he bestowed vpon Saint *Peter*, saying, *The Lord* [f] *did take Peter into the fellowship of the indiuisible vnitie*: which words being coupled to the sentence alleadged by the Cardinall (*That hee hath no part in the diuine Mystery that dare depart from the solidity of Peter*) should haue giuen him, I thinke, such a Sare, as he should neuer haue dared to haue taken any aduantage

[b] *Leo primus in die assump. sua ad Pontificat. sermone 3. Leo epist. 89 ad Episc. Vien. Idem ibid. cap. 2.*

[c] *Cicero in Hort.*

[d] For so he calleth himselfe *in sermo. 1. in die assum.*

[e] *Ex breuiario Romano.*

[f] *Epist. 89.*

tage by the words immediatly preceding, for the benefit of the church of *Rome*, and the head thereof, since those which immediatly follow, are so much derogatory to the diuine Maiestie. And againe, *My* g *writings bee strengthned by the merit, and Authority of my Lord most blessed Saint Peter. We* h *beseech you to keepe the things decreed by vs thorough the inspiration of God, and the Apostle most blessed Saint Peter. If* i *any thing be well done, or decreed of vs; If any thing be obtained of Gods mercy by dayly prayers, it is to be ascribed to Saint Peters works, and merits, whose power doth liue, and Authority excell in his owne Sea. He* k *was so plentifully watered of the fountaine of all Graces, that whereas hee receiued many things alone, yet nothing passeth ouer to any man but by him.* And in a word, he was so desirous to extoll Saint *Peter, That a message from him was an* c *Embassage from S. Peter: Any thing done in his presence, was in Saint Peters* d *presence.* Neither did he vse all this Rhetorick without purpose: for at that time the Patriarke of *Constantinople* contended with him for Primacy. And in the Councell of e *Calcedon*

g Epist. 52.

h Epist. 89.

i In ser. 2. in die anniuer. assum. sua.

k Ser. 3. in die anni. assump. sua.

c Epist. 24.

d Epist. 4.

e Concil. Calced Act. 16. can. 28

cedon, the Biſhops ſixe hundred and more gaue equall Authority to the Patriark of that Sea, and would not admit any priuiledge to the Sea of *Rome* aboue him, but went againſt him. And yet hee that gaue ſo much to *Peter*, tooke nothing from *Cæſar*, but gaue him both his Titles and due, giuing the power of calling a Councell to the Emperour, as it may appeare by theſe one or two places following of many. *If it may pleaſe your* [f] *Godlines, to vouchſafe at our Supplication to condeſcend, that you will command a Councell to be holden within Italy.* And writing vnto the Biſhop of Conſtantinople: *Becauſe the moſt Clement* [g] *Emperour, carefull of the peace of the Church, will haue a Councell to be holden; Albeit it euidently appeare, the matter to be handled doth in no caſe ſtand in neede of a generall Councell. Albeit* [h] *my occaſions will not permit me to be preſent vpon the day of the Councell, which your Godlineſſe hath appointed.* So as by this it may well appeare, that he that gaue ſo much to *Peter*, gaue alſo to *Cæſar* his due and prerogatiue. But yet he playeth not faire play in this, that euen in all theſe his wrong applied

f Epi. 9. Theodoſio.

g Epiſt. 16. Flauiano.

h Epiſt. 17. Theodoſio.

plied Arguments, and Examples, he produceth no other witneſſes, but the parties themſelues, bringing euer the Popes Sentences for approbation of their owne Authority.

Now indeede for one word of his in the middeſt of his Examples, I cannot but greatly commend him, that is, that Martyrs ought to indure all ſorts of tortures, and death, before they ſuffer one ſyllable to be corrupted of the Law of God. Which leſſon, if he and all the reſt of his owne profeſsion would applie to themſelues, then would not the Sacrament be adminiſtred *ſub vnâ ſpecie*, directly contrary to Chriſts Inſtitution, the practiſe of the Apoſtles, and of the whole Primatiue Church for many hundred yeres: then would not the priuate Maſſes bee in place of the Lords Supper: then would not the words of the [a] Canon of the Maſſe be oppoſed to the wordes of Saint *Paul*, and Saint *Luke*, as our Aduerſary himſelfe confeſſeth, and cannot reconcile them: nor then would not ſo many hundreths other Traditions of men be ſet vp in their Church, not only as equall, but euen preferred to the

[a] *Bellar. de ſacra. Euchariſt. lib. 4. cap. 14.*

word of God. But ſure in this point I feare I haue miſtaken him: for I thinke he doth not meane by his *Diuina dogmata*, the word of the God of heauen, but onely the Canons and Lawes of his *Dominus Deus Papa*: otherwiſe all his Primacy of the Apoſtolike Sea would not bee ſo much ſticken vpon, hauing ſo ſlender ground in the word of God.

And for the great feare he hath, that the ſuddainty of the Apprehenſion, the bitterneſſe of the Perſecution, the weakeneſſe of his Age, and other ſuch infirmities might haue bene the cauſe of the Arch-prieſts fal; in this, I haue already ſufficiently anſwered him, hauing declared, as the trueth is, and as the ſaid *Blackwell* himſelfe will yet teſtifie, That hee tooke this Oath freely of himſelfe without any inducement thereunto, either *Precibus* or *Minis*.

Some of Sanders his worthy ſayings remembred.

But amongſt all his citations, he muſt not forget holy *Sanderus*, and his *Viſibilis Monarchia*, whoſe perſon and actions I did already a little touch. And ſurely, who will with vnpartiall eyes reade his Bookes, they

may

may well thinke, that he hath deserued well of his English Roman-Church: But they can neuer thinke, but that he deserued very ill of his English Soueraigne and State. Witnesse his owne bookes: whereout I haue made choice to set downe heere these fewe Sentences following, as flowers pickt out of so worthy a Garland. [a] ELIZABETH *Queene of* England *doeth exercise the Priestly acte of teaching and preaching the Gospell in* England, *with no lesse authority then* CHRIST *himselfe, or* MOSES *euer did.* *The Supremacie of a* [b] *woman in Church matters, is from no other, then from the Deuill.* And of all Kings in generall, thus hee speaketh, *The* [c] *King that will not inthrall himselfe to the Popes authority, he ought not to be tollerated, but his Subiects ought to giue all diligence, that another may be chosen in his place assoone as may be.* *A King that is an* [d] *Heretike, ought to be remoued from the Kingdome that he holdeth amongst Christians, and the Bishops ought to endeuour to set vp another, assoone as possibly they can.* *We doe constantly* [e] *affirme, that all Christian Kings are so farre vnder Bishops and*

a *Sand. de visib. monar. lib. 6. cap. 4.*

b *Sand de cla. Dauid. lib. 6. cap. 1.*

c *Sand. de visib. Monar. lib. 2. cap. 4.*

d *Ibidem.*

e *Ibidem.*

and Priests in all matters appertaining to Faith and Religion, that if they shall continue in a fault against Christian Religion after one or two admonitions, obstinately, for that cause they may, and ought to bee deposed by the Bishops from all the Authority they hold amongst Christians. [f] *Bishops are set ouer Imperiall Kingdomes, if those Kingdomes do submit themselues to the Faith of* CHRIST. *We doe constantly* [g] *affirme, That all Secular power, whether Regall, or any other, is of Men.* The [h] *Anoynting which is powred vpon the head of the King by the Priest, doeth declare that he is inferiour to the Priest. It is altogether against the will of* [i] CHRIST, *that Christian Kings should haue Supremacy in the Church.*

And whereas for the Crowne, and conclusion of all his examples, he reckoneth his two English Martyrs, *Moore* and *Roffensis*, who died for that one most weightie head of Doctrine, as he alleadgeth, refusing the Oath of Supremacie; I must tell him, that he hath not bene well informed in some materiall points, which doe very neerely concerne his two said Martyrs. For it is cleare,

f *Ibidem.*

g *Sand. de clau. David. lib. 5. cap. 2.*

h *Ibidem.*

i *Sand. de clau David lib. 5. cap. 4.*

The Card. paire of Martyrs weighed.

and

and apparantly to be proued by diuers Records, That they were both of them committed to the Tower about a yeere before either of them was called in queſtion vpon their liues for the Popes Supremacy; And that partly for their backwardneſſe in the point of the eſtabliſhment of the Kings Succeſsion, whereunto the whole Realme had ſubſcribed, and partly for that one of them, to wit, *Fiſher*, had had his hand in the matter of the holy [a] maid of *Kent*, he being for his concealement of that falſe Prophets abuſe, found guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon. And as theſe were the principall cauſes of their Impriſonment, (the King reſting ſecure of his Supremacy as the Realme ſtood then affected, but eſpecially troubled for ſetling the Crowne vpon the Iſſue of his ſecond Marriage) So was it eaſily to be conceiued, that being thereupon diſcontented, their humors were thereby made apt to drawe them by degrees to further oppoſition againſt the King and his Authority, as indeed it fell out. For in the time of their being in priſon, the Kings lawfull Authoritie in

a Called *Anne Burton*, See the Act of Parliament.

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a Called *Anna Burton*, See the Act of Parliament.

in cases Ecclesiasticall being published and promulged, as well by a generall Decree of the Clergie in their Synode, as by an Acte of Parliament made thereupon; they behaued themselues so peeuishly therein; as the old coales of the Kings anger being thereby raked vp of new, they were againe brought in question, as well for this one most weightie head of Doctrine of the Pope his Supremacie, as for the matter of the Kings marriage and Succession, as by the confession of one of themselues, euen *Thomas Moore*, is euident. For being condemned, hee vsed these words at the Barre before the Lords, *Non ignoro cur me morti adiudicaueritis, videlicet ob id, quod nunquam voluerim assentire in negotio Matrimonij Regis.* That is, *I am not ignorant why you haue adiudged me to death: to wit, for that I would neuer consent in the businesse of the new marriage of the King.* By which his owne confession it is plaine, that this great Martyr himselfe tooke the cause of his owne death, to be onely for his being refractary to the King in this said matter of Marriage and Succession; which is but a very

Hist. aliquot Martyrum nostri seculi, Anno 1550.

ry fleshly cause of Martyrdom, as I conceiue.

And as for *Roffensis* his fellow Martyr, (who could haue bene content to haue taken the oath of the Kings Supremacy, with a certaine modification, which *Moore* refused) as his imprisonment was neither only, nor principally for the cause of Supremacy; so dyed he but a halting and a singular Martyr, or witnes for that most waighty head of doctrine, the whole Church of *England* going at that time in one current and streame as it were against him in that Argument, diuers of them being of farre greater reputation for learning and sound iudgement then euer he was. So as in this point we may well arme our selues with the Cardinals owne reason, where he giueth amongst other notes of the true Church, *Vniuersality* for one, we hauing the generall and Catholike conclusion of the whole Church of *England* on our side in this case, as appeareth by their booke set out by the whole Conuocation of *England*, called, *The Institution of a Christian man*; the same matter being likewise very learnedly handled by diuers particular learned men

of

of our Church, as by *Steuen Gardiner* in his booke *De vera Obedientia*, with a Preface of Bishop *Boners* adioyned to it, *De summo & absoluto Regis imperio*, published by Master *Bekinsaw*, *De vera differentia Regiæ Potestatis & Ecclesiæ*, Bishop *Tonstals* Sermon, Bishop *Longlands* Sermon, the letter of *Tonstall* to Cardinall *Poole*, and diuers other both in English and Latine. And if the bitternesse of *Fishers* discontentment had not bin fed with his daily ambitious expectation of the Cardinals hat, which came so neere as *Calis* before he lost his head to fill it with, I haue great reason to doubt, if hee would haue constantly persеuered in induring his Martyrdome for that one most waightie head of doctrine.

And surely these two Captaines and ringleaders to Martyrdome were but ill followed by the rest of their countrymen: for I can neuer reade of any after them, being of any great account, and that not many, that euer sealed that waightie head of doctrine with their blood in *England*. So as the true causes of their first falling in trouble (whereof I haue

already

already made mention) being rightly considered vpon the one part; and vpon the other the scant number of witnesses, that with their blood sealed; (a point so greatly accounted of by our Cardinall) there can but small glory redound thereby to our English Nation, these only two, *Enoch*, and *Elias*, serving for witnesses against our Antichristian doctrine.

The supremacie of Kings sufficiently warranted by the Scriptures.

And I am sure the Supremacy of Kings may and will euer be better maintained by the word of God (which must euer be the true rule to discerne all waightie heads of doctrine by) to be the true and proper office of Christian Kings in their owne Dominions, then he will be euer able to maintaine his annihilating Kings, and their Authorities, together with his base and vnreuerend speeches of them, wherewith both his former great Volumes, and his late Bookes against *Venice* are filled. In the old Testament, Kings were directly [a] Gouernours ouer the Church within their Dominions, [b] purged their corruptions, reformed their abuses, brought the [c] Arke to her resting place: the

a 2.Chron. 19.4.
b 2.Sam. 5.6.
c 1.Chron. 13.12.

King [e] dauncing before it, [f] built the Temple, [g] dedicated the same, assisting in their owne persons to the sanctification thereof, [h] made the booke of the Lawe new-found, to be read to the people; [i] renued the couenant betweene God, and his people; brused the brasen Serpent in peeces, which was set vp by the expresse commandement of God, and was a figure of Christ; destroyed [k] all Idols, and false gods; made [l] a publike reformation, by a Commission of Priests and Secular men mixed for that purpose; deposed [m] the High Priest, and set vp another in his place: and generally, ordered euery thing belonging to the Church-gouernment, their Titles and Prerogatiues giuen them by God, agreeing to these their actions. They are called *the* [n] *Sonnes of the Most High*, nay *Gods* [o] *themselues*; *The* [p] *Lords anoynted*; *Sitting* [q] *in Gods Throne*; *His* [r] *seruants*: *The Angels* [s] *of God*: *According to his* [t] *hearts desire*; *The light* [u] *of Israel*; *The* [x] *nursing fathers of the Church*, with innumerable such stiles of honour, wherewith the old Testament is filled, whereof our Aduersary can pretend no

e 2.Sam.6.16
f 1.Chro.28.6.
g 2.Chron.6.
h 2.King.22.13
i Nehe.9.38
Dauid.
Salomon.
2.Kings 8.4.
k 1.Kings 15.12.
2 kings 13.4.
l 2.Chron.7.8.
m 1.Kings 2.27.
n 2.Sam.7.24
o Psal.82.6
x Exod.22.8
p 1.Chron.14.8.
q 2.Sam.3.10
2.Chron.6.15
r 2 Sam.14.10.
s 1.Sam.13.4
t 2.Sam.21.7
u Isa.49.23

no ignorance. And as to the New Testament, *Euery soule* is commanded *to be subiect vnto them, euen for* y *conscience sake*: All men z must be prayed for; *but especially Kings, and those that are in Authority; that vnder them we may leade a godly, peaceable, and an honest life.*

y Rom.13.5
z 1.Tim.2.2

The a *Magistrate is the minister of God to doe vengeance on him that doth euill, and reward him that doth well. Ye must obey all higher Powers, but* b *especially Princes, and those that are Supereminent. Giue euery man his due, feare* c *to whome feare belongeth, and loue to whome loue belongeth. Giue* d *vnto Cæsar what is Cæsars, and to God what is Gods.* e *Regnum meum non est huius mundi.* f *Quis me constituit Iudicem super vos?* g *Reges gentium dominantur eorum; vos autem non sic.* If these Sentences, Titles, and Prerogatiues, and innumerable other in the old and new Testament, do not warrant Christian Kings within their owne Dominions, to gouerne their Church, as well as the rest of their people, in being *Custodes vtriusque tabulæ*, not by making new Articles of faith, which is the Popes office, as I

a Rom.13.4
b 1.Pet.2.13
c Rom.13.7
d Matth.22 21.
e Ioh.18.36
f Luk.12.14
g Luke 22.25.

ſaid before, but by commanding obedience to be giuen to the word of God, by reforming the Religion according to his preſcribed will, by aſsiſting the Spirituall power with the Temporall Sword, by reforming of corruptions, by procuring due obedience to the Church, by iudging, and cutting off all friuolous Queſtions and Schiſmes, as *Conſtantine* did; And finally, by making *Decorum* to be obſerued in euery thing, and eſtabliſhing orders to be obſerued in all indifferent things for that purpoſe, which is the only intent of our Oath of Supremacy: If this Office of a King, I ſay, doe not agree with the power giuen him by Gods word, let any indifferent man voyd of paſsion iudge. But how theſe honorable Offices, Stiles, and Prerogatiues giuen by God to Kings in the old and new Teſtament, as I haue now cited, can agree with the braue Stiles and Titles that *Bellarmine* giueth them, I can hardly conceiue. 1. That *Kings are rather ſlaues, then Lords.* 2. That *they are not only Subiects to Popes, to Biſhops, to Prieſts, but euen to Deacons.* 3. That *an Emperor muſt content himſelfe*

1. *De laicis ca. 7.*

2. *De Pont. lib. 1. cap. 7.*

3 *Ibidem.*

ſelfe to drinke, not onely after a Biſhop, but after a Biſhops Chaplen. 4. That Kings haue not their Authoritie, nor Office from God, nor his Lawe, but onely from the Lawe of Nations. 5. That Popes haue degraded many Emperors, but neuer Emperour degraded a Pope; nay, euen Biſhops, that are but the Popes vaſſals, may depoſe Kings, and abrogate their Lawes. 6. That Church-men are as farre aboue Kings, as the Soule aboue the Body. 7. That Kings may bee depoſed by their people for diuerſe reſpects. 8. But Popes cannot be depoſed: for no fleſh hath power to iudge of them. 9. That obedience due to the Pope, is for Conſcience ſake. 10. But the obedience due to Kings, is onely for certaine reſpects of Order & Policie. 11. That theſe very Church men that are borne and inhabite in Soueraigne Princes Countreyes, are notwithſtanding not their Subiects, and cannot be iudged by them, although they may iudge them. 12. And, that the obedience that Church-men giue to Princes, euen in the meaneſt, and meere Temporall things, is not by way of neceſſary ſubiection, but onely out of diſcretion for obſeruation of good Order.

4 Ibidem, & de cler. cap. 28.

5 De Pont. lib. 3 cap. 16.

6 De laicis cap. 18.

7 De Pont. lib. 5. cap. 8.

8 De Pont. lib. 2. cap. 26.

9 De Pont. lib. 4. cap. 15.

10 De clericis cap. 8.

1 Ibidem.

12 Ibidem.

Theſe contrarieties betweene the Booke of God, and *Bellarmines* bookes, haue I here ſet in oppoſition to other, *Vt ex contrarijs iuxta ſe poſitis, veritas magis eluceſcere poſsit.* And thus farre I dare boldly affirme, That whoſoeuer will indifferently weigh theſe inreconcileable Contradictions here ſet down, will eaſily confeſſe, that GOD is no more contrary to Belial, Light to Darkeneſſe, and Heauen to Hell, then *Bellarmines* eſtimation of Kings is to Gods.

Now as to the concluſion of his Letter, which is onely filled with ſtrong and pithy Exhortations, to perſwade and confirme *Blackwell* to the patient and conſtant induring of Martyrdome, I haue nothing to anſwere, ſaue by way of regrate; That ſo many good ſentences drawen out of the Scripture, ſo well and ſo handſomely packed vp together, ſhould be ſo ill and vntruely applied. But an euill Cauſe is neuer the better for ſo good a Cloake; And an ill matter neuer amended by good wordes: And therefore I may iuſtly turne ouer that craft of the Deuill vpon himſelfe, in vſing ſo Holy-like an exhortation

hortation to ſo euill a purpoſe. Onely I could haue wiſhed him, that he had a litle better obſerued his *Decorum* herein, in not letting ſlippe two or three prophane wordes amongſt ſo many godly mortified Scripture ſentences. For in all the Scripture, eſpecially in the New Teſtament, I neuer read of *Pontifex Maximus*. And the Pope muſt be content in that ſtile to ſucceede to *Numa Pompilius*, and not to Saint *Peter*, who neuer heard nor dreamed of ſuch an office.

And for his *Caput fidei*, which I remembred before, the Apoſtles, I am ſure, neuer gaue that ſtile to any but to CHRIST. So as theſe ſtiles, whereof ſome were neuer found in Scripture, and ſome were neuer applied but to CHRIST in that ſenſe, as hee applieth it, had bene better to haue bene left out of ſo holy and mortified a Letter.

To conclude then this preſent Diſcourſe, I heartily wiſh all indifferent readers of the *Breues* and Letter, not to iudge by the ſpeciouſneſſe of the wordes, but by the weight of the matter; Not looking to that which is ſtrongly alledged, but iudiciouſly to conſider

ſider what is iuſtly proued; And for all our Soueraignes good Subiects, that their hearts may remaine eſtabliſhed in the Trueth; That theſe forraine inticements may not ſeduce them from their naturall duety; And that all, aſwell Strangers as Naturall Subiectes, to whoſe eyes this Diſcourſe ſhall come, may wiſely and vnpartially iudge of the Veritie, as it is nakedly here ſet downe, for clearing theſe miſtes and cloudes of Calumnies, which were iniuſtly heaped vpon our Soueraigne: For which ende onely I heartily pray the courteous Reader to be perſwaded, that this diſcourſe was publiſhed.

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